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THE NATIONAL ERA.

G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR; JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

VOL. XIII. WASHINGTON, D. C., THURSDAY, JANUARY 27, 1859. No. 630.

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For the National Era.

HERMAN;
OR,
YOUNG KNIGHTHOOD.

BY E. FOXTON,
Author of "Premices."

CHAPTER XVII—Concluded.

"More than a year," sighed Constance, with a sob. "The Bishop, when he knew me better, doubted my power of self-renunciation; and to prove it, I wrote to my guardian the day I was twenty-one, and desired him to send all my property, of all kinds, as I should never return to the South. He did so at once—he was glad, I suppose, to rid himself of the care of it; and I gave the money to the church. The Bishop was troubled when I brought it to him. He asked me whether I had not slaves, and said that I had been hasty, and wrong, in not asking his advice. He would have counselled me, by all means, to see that they had Roman Catholic masters, that their souls might be cared for; but I did not think that that would have made much difference to them, for those who bought them might, at any time, sell them again; and I told him that they would probably be better off under any masters than they had been under only overseers. He shook his head, and said he feared I was mistaken; but that, at all events, it could not be helped then, and bade me sit up from twelve to one, two nights in every week, for a month, saying prayers for the conversion of the world, and for all prisoners and captives. I did, and then I felt safe, and never thought whether or not the slaves were so, and dismissed the subject from my mind."

"More than a year ago; it would have been an easier matter, then, to trace them. I wish it had occurred to him, that at that juncture he could best secure the welfare of your soul by setting you to see after other people's bodies."

"Oh, Herman, what if now it should be too late?"

"It shall not be, if they are above ground!"

"But, if any of them are not? oh, Herman! Herman!"

"Constance, the mercy of Heaven is infinite and unfailing. What we can do, we will; and God's forgiveness will supply the rest."

She burst into tears again. "We will? *you* will. I can do nothing. Oh, if I could only sell myself to ransom them, and then die, how thankfully I would do it."

"And leave me? No, sell yourself to me; and I will give you myself in exchange."

"And pay you for them? That would be the price I could not pay, and yet it would be just. That poor, poor, girl has been a whole year, and more, and may still be for life, without her lover! And I have nothing else but you to buy him back with—nothing but those few dollars out of which I was going to bear my paltry thank-offering so complacently to the altar, without even remembering that those worthy brothers and sisters of mine, so deeply sinned against, had aught against me. Herman, I *must* let you go, must I not?"

"Yes, and come back again, too, I hope, bringing not one, but two."

"If I did not hope and believe so, I could not let you go; and yet, I feel as if I were under a doom. Everything is perfectly dark to me; and where I shall find any comfort when you are gone, I cannot tell. The very Bible seems full of curses, all aimed against me: 'Whosoever shall offend one of these little ones!' The words seemed to choke her, and she stopped, shuddering.

"Constance, you grieve and alarm me more than I can tell you, when you allow yourself to go on in this manner. If you did but know it, my dear love, one of your very worst faults, from first to last, has been nothing but this very unbridled vehemence, taking different forms, which is just now distracting you with remorse. The Bible is full of comfort for impenitent sin, it is full of blessings for penitent sinners. Despair is one of the very strongest of the spring-locks which keep the strait gate fastened to us. You must not shut it against yourself. You will be ill! You will not be able to write to me, while I am gone. You will have a brain-fever. How can I possibly stay away, or start, even? I have a great mind to bleed you this moment!" Herman wiped his forehead. He had actually wrought himself up into giving her something like a scolding, the sedative effects of which he had perhaps witnessed before in other cases less interesting to him.

"Oh, no, no—you need not! I will be firm; I am now. I have been poor-spirited and weak, and given you trouble, Herman, when you were doing your very kindest and best for me. The fault is mine; the penance yours; the lamentation mine. That ought not to be. It shall not. But—will you tell me how I ought to feel?"

"By and by, perhaps, when the time for feeling comes—if you need to be told. Thought and action for you in the first place, Constance. If I am stern, dear, it is against your bosom foes."

"You are not. You are but strong and kingly; and I admire and love and trust you only the more. In your hands I can fear nothing long."

His dark, deep eyes shone on her with their softest, tenderest pity. "You admire and love and trust me only the more for my severity against the few faults that stand between you and perfection. You fear nothing long in the hands of one but little stronger and quite as mortal as yourself. Cannot you adore more heartily, and trust more implicitly, the One only really kingly and strong, and bear the discipline of the one only Wisdom and Mercy? Cannot we learn to fear nothing long in His hands, even if for a little while He sets us apart? High soul, will you not prove yourself worthy of your high Father? Fear Him reverently; but can you be afraid of Him abjectly?"

"God's will be done—in mercy—on *me!*"

"And on me too. Say Amen!"

"I will try——when you come back."

"Now."

"A——oh, Herman, indeed this is a matter of feeling; and you said that I was to think and act now."

"True."

"I will act. Tell me what to do."

"Take this pen and ink, and write a few lines to old Jake, saying that you will send a person in a week or two, if possible, to buy him and his daughter. Now, if writing does not increase your headache, I should be glad to have a letter of introduction to your guardian—your cousin, is he not? Tell him that you wish me to buy back your slaves for you, and ask him to be so kind as to give me all the necessary information in his power."

"There, it is done. But there may be forty or fifty of them, or more, even."

"The more the merrier."

"But where shall you get the money?"

"Out of the bank."

"It may take the whole of your little fortune."

"Then I shall have to make another."

"And more."

"Then Clara will lend me some more."

"And be fined for my fault!"

"She will think it one of the best investments in the (other) world."

"And you are to keep yourself impoverished, in order to pay my debts!"

"'Paris and poverty' are as good a *recipe* for the making of a physician as of a lawyer."

Constance could not take this cheerful view of the pecuniary part of the business; and perhaps it was well for her that she could not—for her mortification and anxiety on this point served as a counter-irritant to pangs much more acute. When sensitiveness returns to a paralyzed part of the conscience, it is sometimes with intense anguish—anguish proportioned both to the general constitutional sensitiveness of the patient, and likewise to the length of time that the numbness has lasted, allowing more or less numerous and grievous wounds to be unconsciously inflicted there.

We put an error into our lives carelessly and thoughtlessly, as we sometimes do a poison into our bodies; and it works. Then, if we find it out in time, and are wise, we send for the physician, and he saves us; but it may be so as by fire. We take it for granted that our fellow-beings are chattels; it follows naturally that, thinking no harm, we treat them as chattels; and then, sooner or later—God grant that it may be soon, and not too late, for them or for us—we hear in the cool—chilling our blood—of some awful day, the voice of God, saying unto us, "Where art thou? Where is thy brother?" and we know not what to answer.

Intentionally cruel Constance had not been; but she was utterly ignorant of the black side of Slavery; and, as we have heard her say, with the characteristic candor in which no one could excel her, she had little or no sense of duty due from her to her fellow-beings, until taught it by Roman Catholic discipline. Roman Catholic discipline taught her many good lessons as regarded her outward life, and some as regarded her inner; but—I cannot tell how far her experience in this respect was or was not peculiar—she had, under that discipline, been exhorted to be good to others, more for her own good than theirs. Faults absolved were annulled and forgotten. Almost as soon as she had been actively employed as a Sister of Charity, in the service of others, to be sure, she had begun instinctively to feel for those she served, because she had a generous nature; but, ever since that time, her life had been crowded, at first with the duties and of late with the pleasures of the day, and she had never reconsidered her rash deed. The subject of Slavery, except in its political bearings, had never once taken strong hold of her mind. She had been learning, however, under Herman's influence and guidance, quite a new set of principles of universal justice, sympathy, and good will. She applied them to the simple summary of poor Jake's misery, when he presented it to her, saw her conduct, his situation, and that of his fellows, for the first time, in their true light, and was utterly appalled. Herman dared not let her sit down in quiet to brood over the past, and the possibilities of the case. He mercifully kept her as busy as he could in dwelling upon and preparing the remedy:

"You will think it best to send the poor things to Canada, Hayti, Jamaica, or Liberia, I suppose, Constance. More shame for us, we can hardly shelter them now securely in Boston. Negro-hunters might come down upon them, some time when we were at Sea Farm, or elsewhere out of the way, and make awkward mistakes under the law. The air of New England used to be like that of Old England, which no man can breathe and be a slave; but *nous avons changé tout cela.* I have brought you here some pretty trustworthy reports of the condition of the negroes in all these places, and when you have decided which promises best, I will get you the addresses of some persons of color and condition, to whom you can write while I am away, in order to concert some plans without loss of time with them for your protegés. If I ever wished to be a rich man, it would be now, that I might take you with me to see their poor black faces light up at the sound of your message. Part of your five hundred dollars will serve as a dowry, I hope, for poor, faithful Nance."

The wedding of Herman and Constance had to be put off, of course. No time was to be lost in righting the wronged; and, besides, the [illegible] must be endured, and [illegible] sible that the rent in Pinckney street, which they were on the point of hiring, might now be too high for them to pay. Their wedding was to be put off indefinitely.

To this, however, Clara demurred. "I have played the dog in the manger at your bidding very obediently, Herman," she said, "and kept from you the money which I could not spend myself, in my opinion, quite long enough. It is time now for me to begin to have my own way. I have felt sadder than I chose to tell, at the prospect of losing you from our house; and if I have said nothing about it hitherto, it has been only because I supposed that, if you could have a little independent establishment, it would be more agreeable to you and Constance both. If you give up that, you must come to us. There is more than room enough for us all. Edward says that he should be particularly glad to have you. You know he always likes to be free to go and come as he pleases; and I could not bear to be a *gêne* to him. He is afraid I should be lonely without you; and indeed I should. Think of that great house half empty, and your dear odd old room shut up. It would seem exactly as if you were dead. You must promise me that you will be married as soon as you come back, and let me make you a proper allowance, at least until you are able to stand on your own feet again. You must consider that I am getting on in life, Herman," continued Miss Clara, looking as elderly as she could, though not, with her best endeavors, quite equalling Joyce Heth in that respect, "and nothing does me so much good, or is so adapted to soothe my declining years, as having cheerful young people about me."

"Herman," said Constance, coming to him with a downcast look, soon after, "have you any objection to my giving music lessons, if I can obtain some pupils?"

He started and hesitated. Even those rare men, who can play their own sensible and spirited part in life, in the frowning faces of public prejudice and of the tyranny of fashion, are often cowards for the women whom they love. Herman certainly had a very strong dislike to Constance's doing anything for hire. It was, notwithstanding, high-minded and spirited in her, to wish to do this; it would take up her time and thoughts; and he was not so sure as he would have been glad to be, that it was anything better than snobbishness in him, which made him object to her wishes. The proscribed but unflinching patriot shrank from having his lady-love do anything, howsoever fit in itself to be done, and desirable, which might make her lose caste in the eyes of the very silliest fop among her rejected suitors.

"I cannot say that I prefer to have you give music lessons, certainly, love," said he; "but I can admire and esteem you only the more for wishing to do so: and if I have any objection, I fear it is one which I ought to be ashamed to urge. It has become an obsolete notion among us, thank Heaven! that a man in becoming a busy man must cease to be a gentleman. Surely, being a busy woman, and working for yourself and me, this year, as you worked last year for the poor, can make you none the less a gentlewoman."

"Would not you rather have me a useful woman *than* a gentlewoman, if I could not be both? An honest woman, at any rate, working to pay, as far as it lies in her power, her own grievous debts to God and man?"

"You shall have my free consent to do anything that can in any degree relieve your mind, my dearest girl."

Again Clara interposed, however, when she had heard of the plan. Perhaps she had some drawing-room prejudices, which she, not being a reformer by profession, did not think it incumbent upon her to try to overcome. If she had, she took an amiable way of showing them.

"I do not think that will do at all," said she, "if you will excuse my saying so. Music has to be taught now as a science, almost as much as an art. You sing very beautifully yourself; but it must be a good while since you have taken any lessons, Constance; and, before you attempt to give them, I think you should have a few from Bendelari or Corelli. Besides, there are so many Germans and professional people always in want of pupils now, that you might not be able to get any except beginners, at five or six dollars a quarter; and Herman will be back again before you have had time to earn even that. Oh, give it up, dear; I know of something else which would be much more fit for you! An acquaintance of mine, a maiden lady, not so young as she has been, but highly respectable, and not so ill-tempered, I believe, as she might be, considering her desolate situation, is very much in want of a companion—'salary no object.'"

"Clara!" exclaimed Herman. He thought her beside herself.

Constance colored painfully. "I am afraid," said she, in a tone of somewhat proud humility, though evidently struggling for self-mastery, "that I am hardly equal to the duties of such a place. I am afraid that I should not suit her; and yet, Herman"——

"Oh, as to that," resumed Clara, "the duties of the place are not so very hard. All that would be required of you would be to sit with her, or in your own room when you preferred it, to chat, work, read, and drive with her, make yourself at home, and once in a while to write to her brother at the South; and there is one respect at least in which no one else could suit her so well as you; for she makes it an indispensable requisite that her companion shall be—Constance Aspinwall."

"Clara!" exclaimed Herman, again, but this time in a very different tone; and Constance sprang up and threw her arms about her neck.

"I will bring you back in time to meet Herman here on his return. Will you come, and see his home, and make it cheerful while he is gone? I shall be disappointed, and grieved, and lonely, if you will not. It is the first favor I ever asked of you, Constance. Perhaps it will be the last, if you refuse."

Constance had no inclination to refuse, since the invitation was given with cordiality so unmistakable. The arrangement was made, and was the best that could have been made, relieved Herman from great anxiety on Constance's account, by placing her under Clara's cheerful, judicious, and watchful guardianship, gave both the young ladies sincere satisfaction, and supplied the grateful Constanee with an additional motive, for her hostess' sake, to strive for hope, patience, and calmness. On the morning which was to have been that of their wedding-day, Herman and Constance took leave of one another, and went northward and southward on their several ways, she often taking from her pocket-book, and stealthily poring, in car or steamboat, a little sheet of notepaper, which Herman had slipped into her hand when he pressed it for the last time. It bore the following sentences but in his hastiest handwriting:

"The moment at which we first open our eyes to the precipices upon which we have been walking in our sleep, is not the beginning of our danger, but (unless we allow our terror to get the better of us, and go wild at the sight) of our safety.

"The moment at which we begin to say, 'I have sinned! God be merciful to me a sinner,' is not the moment at which He begins to be our Judge, but our Pardoner.

"The moment at which we begin to set our faces against the wrongs which we have done, is not that at which God begins to set His face against us, but at which He places Himself at our side to fight for us.

"So soon as we set ourselves to work, heart and hand, to slay and undo our sin, so soon, if not before, does He set Himself to work, not to undo, but to spare and to save us. As a surgeon He may wound us, but, if we are submissive and trustful, only to heal and to cure. He will pity, sustain, and comfort us, under our wholesome and needful sufferings, as a Father.

"Of all the adversaries, which stand between us and heaven's gate, there is scarcely any so terrible as Remorse. The soul, who can put him down before the Lord, can put down Satan. Wrestle with the dark angel when he comes upon you; and wrestle on, though the night about you be black as the grave, and long as [illegible] since unto salvation, not to be repented of. Then the morning, which dawns upon your weary soul, shall be as the morning of the resurrection."

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For the National Era.

JASPER: A ROMANCE.

BY EDWARD SPENCER.

X.

How the Gardener left the Hall.

Gilbert Congreve was buried in the graveyard of his native village, by his father's side, and where, through the trees, the glittering vane of the Hall could be seen. All around were the spots familiar to his youth; the house in which he was born, the white meeting-house, the school-house, the village green; and he had chosen to return his dust to this native soil, rather than to be laid where his manhood had flourished. His tomb is there, a plain white marble slab, supported on four pillars, and bearing the inscription—

"Non sibi solum vixit, sed omnibus."

It was the day after the funeral, and Mrs Fleming sat in the library, ministering with tenderest hands to Ruth, who lay on the sofa ill with weeping and emotion. *Her* grief was of another sort, and did not manifest itself in tears. Her cheek was blanched, and her eyes distraught, yet she was outwardly calm, thoughtful, and considerate. Standing near them, his face quivering with emotion, and his eyes filling up constantly, was old Richard, the gardener.

"Oh, madam," said he, wringing his hands, "Oh, madam, I did na think o' this. God help me, I did na expect sick a thing as this."

"It is all for the best, Richard," said Mrs. Fleming, turning those pained and aching eyes upon him for a moment with a grateful glance.

"Ei, madam, but tha' best was so near! The lang-lost happiness was *so* near. See, madam."

And he handed her some papers. She took them, glanced at them, shuddered, and grew paler even than she was. The papers were three in number, and contained, in set form, the several acknowledgments of Clarissa the maid, Mrs. Morninglory, and Aulicus Clinquant, that the charges against Mrs. Fleming, had originated with them, were false, were known to be false when made, and were instigated by malicious purposes. Mrs. Fleming turned towards Richard, and held out her hand.

"These were not needed, but I thank you, faithful old friend, from my heart."

"Oh!" cried Richard, completely broken down in presence of her calmness. "Oh, if I had only been a day sooner, so that I could hae saved his life. Only a day sooner."

"Hush," said Mrs. Fleming, pointing to Ruth, who was sobbing violently. "Tell me how you got these papers."

"I *forced* 'em until it. I skeert yon jade Clarissa, until she acknowledged about the bribe, and then I threatened the other woman wi' exposure, and wi' somewhat I meesel hae against her, and she helped me and my big stick thegither to bring yon deevil, Clinquant, to his wits, wha yielded the easier, I reckon, that the blude was so fresh on his hands. Lord, madam, if I had hae kenned then *what* blude it was on his hands, I would hae banged out his brains on the verra spot."

"It is all for the best, now, Richard. I thank you much. You are a faithful friend."

"Why for should I na be?" cried he, impetuously, "wha nursed the auld man's blind and afflicted daughter, and smoothed out her puir dead members, when he could only tear the hairs out o' his deestracted pow? Wha would na be, when ye've ben a friend till the puir hameless foreigner ever sense ye kenned yersel'? Don't thank me. I'se not done yit."

"Nay, Richard, you do but grieve yourself."

But Richard went on, talking rapidly, and more Scotch than ever.

"I hae up til Mister Clausee, and tauld him a' that has happened, and a' that was said. He was in pecks o' trouble, and wanted to leave here instantly. But I persuaded him not, and now he is going to take my nephew, Jamie, to live wi' him, and they will be on the place to keep you company and protect you while I'm away."

"*You* going away, Richard! for what reason? You must not leave me."

"Oh, yes, I must, then. Ma duty is na all done yit. I am just a going to seek after Mr. Jaisper, and breeng him home till ye, for its ma opeenion he's wanted."

Mrs. Fleming turned those great sad eyes of hers full upon him, and now for the first time they were swimming in tears, while Ruth, tottering to her feet, caught the old man's brown, hard hand in hers, and pressed it to her lips.

"My God!" said Mrs. Fleming, "what have I done to deserve such devotion! Oh, Richard, if a mother's gratitude can repay you"——she could say no more, but gave way to unrepressible tears, while Ruth, weeping, trembling, murmured,

"Oh, bring him home, bring him home once more, Richard, and I will bless you."

"Madam and young leddie," said Richard, "it is no hardship to serve such as ye are. But this blessing enough in itsel. I shall na come back until such time as I can bring Mr. Jaisper wi' me."

This sturdy, true-hearted old gardener, with genuine Scotch pride, boasted of having acquired his "humanities" in Edinborough. Did he get that great hopeful heart of his in Edinborough? Was that tender, patient thoughtfulness of his one of the fruits a man can gather upon the six "forms" of the well-flogged High School? Nay, old man, the High School may teach thee much, but, for these rare qualities of thine, the world claims them, not Edinborough!

The very next morning, well provided with money and credit, old Richard set out on his quest. Jasper, in the letter enclosing the pawn-ticket, had written that he was *en route* for California. His first object, then, was to find out what vessel sailed on that particular Friday. It was easy enough for him to learn that the only ship for El Dorado on that day was "the missing clipper." Just like him! In what other vessel would this poor Jasper embark, when a "missing clipper" was at his command? Richard went to see the underwriters, and asked leave to inspect a list of passengers. The name was not there. Whose name was it he was looking for? Ah! there was a Jasper among the crew. See here: "Jasper—youth—never sailed before—$12 per month." Shipped the day before sailing. Old Richard raised his hands in horror. The idea of Jasper, Mrs. Fleming's son, the millionaire, doing dog's work before the mast, at twelve dollars a month! It was something that his conservatism and natural respect for order and position would not permit him to understand. But there could be no doubt about it. One of the clerks in the office was present when he shipped, and remembered him—particularly his white hand and his aristocratic manner. Had they no news of the vessel, good or bad? No; she was spoken off the east coast of Patagonia, but nothing more was known of her. It was feared she had foundered off the Horn. They had written to their California agent to send down the coast in search of information, and were expecting news daily. They would not advise him, however, to encourage any extravagant hopes. When a ship is not heard from for a year, sailing that voyage, there was but little chance they would ever hear from her.

This little hope, however, was enough for Richard. He dispatched a brief note to the Hall, saying that he had positive news of Jasper having sailed for the Pacific, whither he was also about to proceed forthwith. The next day he started for California, via the Isthmus of Panama. It was a very wearisome voyage for the old man, the tossing steamer, the boating, the mule-back ride, and the steamer again; but he never flinched, never complained. He who gives himself up, body and soul, to any great purpose, thereby acquires powers of endurance otherwise undreamt of. It seems as if the angels in such a one recognise a kindred spirit, and hasten to buoy up his frame, sustain his heart, and, with tender guardianship, elevate the frail humanity into some equality with the great spirit that informs it.

At San Francisco, he learned that the ship had been wrecked on the coast Terra del Fuego, and the crew and passengers all massacred by the savages, excepting the first mate, who, though terribly mangled, and a cripple for life, had managed to save himself. The underwriters went had seen him, and learned all the particulars. Had he enumerated those drowned and slain? He said that all save himself were lost. Did he see them die? persisted the stout-hearted Richard, who had an indomitable skepticism in regard to misfortunes, and a grand confidence in Mr. Jaisper's star. Where was this mate? He was in Honolulu. Enough. Writing home again, and telling them to keep up heart until he himself should despair, the old man took passage in the first vessel for Honolulu. Still steadfast, he would have engaged a balloon for a voyage to the moon, had it been necessary. His hopes were slight indeed, when he landed among the Kanakas, and sought out the mate, but they *were* hopes, and, as such, impelling forces to him. This mate, when found, was but the mental and bodily wreck of a once fine, handsome, fearless, not intelligent, but brave, and working excellently when kept in harness. This was but faintly indicated in the hulk that Richard found, with face scarred horribly, and limbs all racked, atwist, and useless, from torture and exposure. He had gotten himself a wife here, and a little hut near the Ocean, and a pipe. Here Richard saw him, lying on his back, on a grassy turf, within sound of the sea, and his dusk wife by his side, tenderly keeping off the insects. Half-asleep in body, and his mind all a-dreaming, taking rest, as it were, after the horrible things it had gone through. Still lying there placidly on his back, with half-closed eyes, the cripple listened to Richard's interrogatories, and then began to speak, in his far-off, dreamy, gentle tones, of having been first officer to a proud Clipper, and how she sailed, the gallantest craft that ever bowled on before a gale; how terrible storms disabled her at the Cape, and how she was cast away, crumbling upon the black rocks, "like this 'bacey crumbles to ashes in my pipe, ship-mate;" and how the Captain, like a brave Viking of old, went down with his ship; and how the rest, as they were building them a sort of raft, were set upon by the savages, some killed, and some captured; and how they were beaten, and tortured, and roasted, and driven about, until they were all dead, despairing, and he himself alone remained to tell the tale, which happened because of a woman—"I always loved the woman, matey—they're all heart," said he, parenthetically, pressing his hand upon the wrist of his smiling Kanaka maiden—a woman, who took pity on him, and got him away by night, and showed him the way to where some white men were hunting seals; and how they had taken him off, and left him kindly at this place, where, please the Good Master, he meant to abide the rest of his days; and that was all, and as he was dry, would Oaha fetch him some of that cocoa-nut liquor, which, albeit 'twas not so good as rum, was good enough to have a "God-make-us-thankful" said over it.

Was he certain that *all* the crew had perished? Did he see them all die?

Yes —— but now he thought a little—no; there might be one or two alive, sure enough, for several were carried off by the natives from the party he was with, and, moreover, there were two men who had gone off as soon as the ship was lost, being in fear of those very savages that had so misused them—and they had tried to get the rest to go with them; and maybe, since they were so wise in this one matter, they might providently have kept their lives through all. Things fully as strange as that had happened before now.

Their names? Well now, you see, matey, them savages used me so badly, they've kind a put my mind out o' joint, like, and I don't memorize things as I used to could —— ah, and you're a great interest in knowing; a dear friend among the Clipper's crew? That's a pity. *I* don't look like him, do I? Well, I'll try——let me see—oh yes, one was an old sailor, a regular old sea-dog, out of Isle of Man, and his shipmates called him Brawny Back, or else B. B., and so they all knew him, and don't know what his shipping name might be; and tother —— tother was a good-looking young one, had come aboard in fine gentleman togs, but he made as good a sailor as ever spliced a knot; the more credit to him, for such generally mopes, and gets down in the mouth, not knowing how to take hard work—he was mighty proud, though, but everybody liked him, and his name—a was a queer name now, but I can't call it to mind—hum—Jasper? Yes, that was it—Jasper! Funny name, now matey, wasn't it? Ha, he, the idea of a man going under such a flag as—Jasper, when there's such serviceable names as John, and Bill, and Ben, and Jacob, to be had for the taking! Was Jasper the one you were in s'arch of? Well, now, I'm really glad you have a chance for his life, for he was a fine lad, and took to his work as easy as you please—a was a good sailor too, could do his trick at the wheel, as if he had been bred to it. Fleming? don't know, indeed. Jasper was the only name he went by aboard ship; you see we don't bother our heads about a chap's name and pedigree on ships of-fleers, so he's lively and likely, and han't got too much of the hang-dog, or Sydney-cove look about him. 'Taint every good seaman as can show a clean bill of health from his last port, but it won't do to quarantine them for that. Runaways mostly make the best sailors, and the very meanest sneak I ever see was a lubberly six-foot Varmounter, who shipped aboard a barque I was mate in. His hair was full of hay seed, and he looked ever so innocent, with letters from the minister 'tu hum,' recommending him to all, as a good Christain, and a piously-disposed young man, whereas he wasn't good for anything but to clean out pig pens and slop the cows, besides being somewhat of a thief. He stole my ducks, I know. No; I don't know anything more about Jasper, only what I've told you. He shipped the day before we sailed, and appeared precious anxious to get off—and I wish you may find him—and you re perfectly welcome—and now, matey, take a pipe, while I chaw up some 'bacey, for this talking makes a fellow monstrous dry. Ever see such a fine country, matey? We're going to settle here, me and Oaha, and here I'm going to keep these battered and sprung old pegs in quod, and dream of the poor boys aholt the tarred ropes, 'until such time as it shall please' (as the parsons say) the Big Captain up yonder to have all hands piped to quarters. What, matey, off aready? Well, good bye, if you will go. Short visit, though, after coming so far to see me! Thank you none the less, though. Likely, if Brawny Back and——and—Jasper, oh yes, Jasper, are in the land of the living, you'll find 'em working their way aboard some whaler, cruising ever so far away, under the lee of Japan, or up yonder at that Sandwich Rooshian place, or in the deep grounds, off St. Helena. That matey, to my mind, going in s'arch of them's like making a voyage after ambergreese. They'll be hard to find. Best stay here till they come round into this neighborhood. No? Well, good bye, matey, and God bless ye, and I hope ye'll find 'em all safe and sound and hearty, for you're the true grit, you are."

Richard shook hands with him, and walked away, leaving him still lying there on the turf, with a pipe at his mouth, and the blue wreaths of smoke hanging over him; lying there and listening dreamily, with half-closed eyes, to the swish of the ripples on the sand, the little sparkling ripples murmuring as they came of the long Pacific wave; while Oaha, propping his head against her bronze bare bosom, fanned him daintily with her fan of gay feathers, and looked wonderingly after the stranger who had come so far over the moaning waters, to say so very little, and to go away so very soon. It was a [illegible] to see the [illegible]

"They sat them down upon the yellow sand,
Between the sun and moon, upon the shore;
And sweet it was to dream of Fatherland,
Of child, and wife, and slave; but evermore
Most weary seemed the sea, weary the oar,
Weary the wandering fields of barren foam.
Then rose one said: 'We will return no more;'
And all at once they sang: 'Our island home
Is far beyond the wave; we will no longer roam.'"

But the Lotos Islands had no controlling spell for Richard. However they might make him long for rest and dreams, and inspissate his bl

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 27, 1859.

JASPER.

Inducement to New Subscribers.

Owing to the unusual interest manifested by our readers in the story now in course of publication in the *Era*, entitled "JASPER," we have concluded, in order that all *new* subscribers may have the benefit of the story, to issue an "Extra" on the 1st of January, containing all the chapters published up to that time.

This Extra will be sent *free* to all *new* subscribers.

All *new* subscribers will receive the *Era* from the 1st of January, unless otherwise requested.

THE ONE ISSUE—LAYING ASIDE EVERY WEIGHT.

The Slave Power, having its seat in the South, controls the Federal Government. In the South, whatever the disaffection to its rule, it is powerless, so that the force necessary to its overthrow must come from the Free States; but that force can never be so organized as to be completely effective, while their masses shall be divided by political questions unconnected with the great Question on which the Slave Power has united the Slave States. The one thing necessary is *a union of a majority of the People of the Free States in opposition to the Power that has used and abused, and now uses and abuses, the Federal Government.* Let this union be effected and the Government redeemed, and the way will be open for the wise settlement of other Questions, according to the will of a majority of the American People. Revolution in organization must precede Reform in administration. We must change the Power before we can change the Product. To postpone the struggle for the subversion of Slavery Domination, is to postpone every other Question.

But, experience and common sense teach that the necessary union of the Non-Slaveholders of the country against the Slave Power cannot be effected, *unless the great issue between them be kept distinct and paramount.* You may superadd other issues, on which there is general concurrence of opinion—such as cheap postage, homestead reform, Federal appropriations for River and Harbor Improvements, of a general character, to which individual or State resources are unequal—keeping them all strictly subordinate—but the attempt to introduce such issues as the *Bank, Tariff, and American Questions*, and *to demand uniformity of creed and policy upon them, as a condition to union against the Slave Power*, is simply absurd. It is utterly impossible to unite a majority of the People of the Free States on these Questions. Union of the majority of Non-Slaveholding voters against the domination of the Slave Power—the great evil—is possible; union upon any other basis is utterly impracticable. There is no use in arguing the proposition. Every man who knows anything of American politics knows it to be a fact.

State action, of course, admits of modification. In Pennsylvania, so general is the sentiment in favor of protection to iron and coal, that we can hardly be surprised that Republicans there should partake of it, and give countenance to it. Here and there, the *American* sentiment is so strong, as to pervade all political organizations, so that Republicans are found assenting to it, to a certain extent. But, a declaration that might do no damage to the Republican Party in Rhode Island or New Jersey, would find no favor in Ohio or Illinois; a doctrine that might help Republicanism in Pennsylvania, might hurt it in Michigan or Wisconsin. *When the movement is a national one, when the organization is to determine its national policy and issues*, it must avoid subordinate questions, tending to produce division, and confine itself to the great Question on which there is unanimity. We shall not insist upon a Free Trade resolution, or a declaration of war against Know Nothings—nor will we consent to a Tariff resolution, or a declaration of Americanism. Keep the Issue on which we can unite, pure and unadulterated, separate from the issues on which we cannot unite. I am a Free Trader, but I will unite heartily with the Protectionist in overthrowing the Slave Power, if he will not require me to swear by Protection. He may enjoy his opinion on that or any other Question, advocate it freely, and even labor to secure the nomination of such men as are nearest his own creed—but, if he concede me the same liberty, and *insist upon no party test, but that of uncompromising and active opposition to the rule of Slavery*, I can work with him. If he ask more than this, he shows that he regards the Slavery Question as subordinate, not paramount, and he is an enemy to union, an enemy to true Republicanism, an ally, in effect, although not, it may be, in purpose, of the Power that is ruling the country to its ruin.

The Republican Party is the offspring of a strong conviction in the free States, that such a Union as we define, is a necessity. It is self precisely that Union—a Union of native and naturalized citizens, of Whigs, Democrats, Liberty Men, Land Reformers, Americans, Radicals and Conservatives, who believe that the greatest and most urgent evil is Slavery Domination and Aggression, and the highest and first political duty, the subordination of all other political questions to a union for its overthrow. The several parties to it generously and wisely agreed to lay aside whatever divided them—not insisting upon placing each other in a position at war with their settled convictions. It was not asked by the Democrat that the organization should be styled "Democratic Republican;" by the Whig, "Whig Republican;" by the American, "American Republican;" popular sentiment proposed simply, "Republican"—a National "Republican" Convention was held—the ticket was a Republican ticket—and since 1856, in Congress, in the States, in the Nation, among friends and foes, the party has been known as "Republican." Under this name it rules in nearly all the Free States—by this name it will be known in 1860. Why not be satisfied with it? Why seek to clog it with new and distracting issues? or emasculate it by taking away from it its vital issue? or embarrass it by change of name? If the title "Republican" be good for the national organization, it is good for the State. How clear and straightforward the way to victory, if we follow with a single eye the direct path struck out amidst the convulsions of 1856!

CONGRESS—TUESDAY.

The Senate was engaged in the consideration of the Pacific Railroad. Mr. Johnson, of Tennessee, spoke against it, and denounced the Cincinnati Platform, and platforms and caucuses generally.

The House, after the morning business, went into Committee of the Whole upon the consular and diplomatic bill.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

When Mr. Seward took occasion in his Rochester speech, just before the New York election, to re-present distinctly the great conflict between Slavery and Freedom, politicians in that State and in this District, who had been plotting the reconstruction of parties, on the assumption that no such conflict exists, were greatly scandalized, denounced the inconsiderate radicalism of the distinguished Senator, and predicted nothing but disaster as the result.

Now, nothing is more certain than that the Administration owes its defeat in New York and the Republican Party there, its integrity and its success, first to the failure of the miserable attempt at coalition; and secondly, to that Rochester Speech, which concentrated the Anti-Slavery sentiment in support of the Republican ticket, defined beyond all doubt the true issue of the canvass, and rendered it impossible to construe the result otherwise than as an evidence of the preponderance of the Anti-Slavery Element.

At no time since the organization of the Republican party has it been free from purblind counsellors and halting conservatives. Every year, we have been accustomed to hear them croaking about the danger of being radical, inconsiderate, hot-headed. Be quiet, is the burden of their advice, let us show the country that we are not the agitators—what is the use of this "eternal talk about the niggers"—we can meet the issues as they arise. They seem to be under the illusion that they are still respectable members of the old Whig Party, which, merely to suit circumstances, has adopted the title, "Republican," and they are amazed that the wise counsels of Webster and Clay are set at nought. Let a determined Republican in Congress proclaim the real doctrines of the Party, and they grow nervous; they are sure he will spoil everything—"how can we unite the elements of the Opposition, if such zealots will forever be agitating?" The very best way, they think, for the Republican Party to succeed, is never to make a single effort to do what it was expressly organized to do.

That Mr. Washburn of Maine should have incurred the displeasure of these gentlemen is just what might have been expected; but we cannot understand why any real Republican should think a frank utterance of Anti-Slavery opinions, at such a crisis, unseasonable. The speech of that gentleman, notwithstanding the patriotic outbreak of Mr. Thompson of New York, about "a union of the true men of the country, North, South, East and West"—a phraseology intended to imply that the Republican Party, with its definite aims and purposes, should give way to a mongrel Opposition, with no principle, and no aim but that of power—were not only well considered, but well timed. Recollect what use had been made of the vote of the Republicans in favor of the Crittenden-Montgomery amendment. Every intelligent person knew that that vote was given, not to sustain the dogma of "Popular Sovereignty," or the assumption that the People of any Territory have a right to establish Slavery, but to defeat the Lecompton Constitution, and save Kansas from Slavery. No sooner, however, had the record been made, than Mr. Douglas remarked that he must now cease to call them *Black* Republicans, because they had adopted his principle of Popular Sovereignty, and Mr. Humphrey Marshall boldly claimed in the House that they had abandoned their obnoxious position on the right of Congress to prohibit Slavery in the Territories, and now occupied a ground to which the conservative men of the South could not object. Either no opportunity was given for explanation, or it was thought by Republican members that it was unnecessary—the People could not be misled as to the meaning of their vote. But, it is always better to trust to our own care and vigilance, than the candor or good will of others. That vote was misconstrued, and in the columns of a leading Republican Journal, a measure, assented to with reluctance, as a necessity under the circumstances, purely exceptional, was held up as a precedent for the future and ordinary action of the Party. Then followed the effort to supersede or sell out the Republican party; and at the opening of the present session, efforts were made to restrain agitation, or any expression of opinion on the subject of Slavery. Mr. Marshall and his American associates were again busy; Republicans were to be taught that their mission was accomplished—that the Kansas Question having been settled, they had nothing further to do—that all sectional issues were now to be ignored, and a grand Opposition organized, on the ground of simple antagonism to the Administration. Was it wise to suffer this pertinacious system of demoralization to go on, unrebuked? To permit Samson to be lulled to sleep, that his locks might be shorn?

Why multiply words? The determined, intelligent men of the Party saw the danger—and one or two speeches sufficed to show that the Republican Party was alive—not to be cheated, seduced, or ignored. Let us assure Messrs. Purviance and Thompson that the right words came at the right time. If they expect any other union than that already established by Republicans—a union composed of "the good and true men" of the Democratic, Whig, Liberty, and American Parties, on the basis of opposition to the Slave Power and to its creature, the Administration—they will be mistaken.

Mr. Washburn's speech fortunately provoked Mr. Marshall to an open demonstration; and Mr. Thompson, of New York, may learn from that what sort of a "union" he may look for outside of the Republican Party—a union with South Americans on the basis of No Agitation, No Discussion, the Compromises of 1850, the Fugitive Slave Act, and the Dred Scott Dogmas. We rejoice that Mr. Marshall has proclaimed the doctrines of his third Party, if Party it may be called. Substantially, it is with the Administration—and Republican co-operation with one would be just as decent and consistent as with the other.

By far the better, wiser, manlier policy is, to define the true Issues, distinctly, to draw the Party lines unmistakably, to adhere to Principles rigorously, and to have done with schemes of compromise and coalition, with a view merely to obtaining political power. Let him who is for Slavery, for Slavery Extension, for Slavery Domination, for Cuba-Annexation, for Central American and Mexican Spoliation, for Filibustering, and the African Slave Trade, for Corruption, War, and Extravagance, vote for the so-called Democracy and its Charleston candidate.

Let him who is for Freedom, for the extension of Freedom, for the rule of Freedom, for a decent respect for International Law, against Propagandism, against Filibustering, against the African Slave Trade, against the Annexation of mongrel Populations with a view to increase the power of Slavery, and in favor of the expansion of our Territories only in conformity to the laws of Nature and the rights of Nations, vote for the Republican Party and its candidate in 1860.

If Protectionists, or Americans, and Conservatives, or old Whigs, in the free States, think they can better promote the safety, honor, and well being of the Republic by voting for the Party that made war on Mexico, repealed the Missouri Compromise, attempted to conquer Kansas for Slavery, endorsed the Lecompton Fraud, demands dictatorial power and millions of money for its President, that he may spoil Mexico, and Central America, and obtain Cuba through corruption, intrigue, and violence—than by voting for the Republican Party, let them do it, and take the consequences. Republicans will appeal to the People, as they have hitherto done, and by the People they will be sustained.

☞ Our columns are filled this week with startling accounts of revolutions and rumors of revolution. The account of the Haytien revolution, which we condense from the New York papers, is considerably spoiled by subsequent news. It is said that the revolution is but partial, and that Soulouque stills reigns securely, and affects to treat the proclamation of the Republic as a petty local revolt.

SLAVERY RECEDING.

Facts like the following, which a few years ago would have been hailed as indubitable proof of the permanence as well as the prosperity of Slavery, are now looked upon in a very different light:

Negroes for the South.—The Portsmouth (Va.) *Transcript* says:

"Heavy shipments of negroes for the far South are made almost every day by the Seaboard and Roanoake railroad. Yesterday, about a hundred arrived here from the eastern shore of Maryland, and passed through, and this morning another car load from Delaware was sent on.

"Let our people bear this in mind in their purchases of negroes at present high prices. We ourselves have observed the enormous influx of negroes upon the cotton and sugar-growing States for the last two months and more. We suppose that the daily shipments by the railroads from Augusta, South and West alone, have not averaged less than some two hundred during this time, and they are still coming at that, if not a greater ratio. There has never been anything like it before."—*Confederation.*

The champions of Slavery are in a sad predicament. The price of negroes was never higher, and the fears for the permanency of the institution were never greater. The high price of slaves arises from the high price of cotton; and the demand for cotton requires a constantly increasing production. How is it, then, that the South is losing confidence in the permanency of the institution? One would naturally suppose that the contrary effect would follow, and that a character of stability and permanence would be given to Slavery in proportion to its value to slaveholders. But they are rendered miserable in the midst of prosperity by a state of nervous apprehension which has become chronic. They are ever on the verge of a crisis, which threatens to overturn, if not to destroy, the social fabric. Surely that system cannot be a blessing, morally, politically, or socially, which keeps a whole people in a state of nervous trepidation.

The immediate trouble with which the South is threatened, by its prosperity and the high price of negroes, is the danger that the demand for slaves in the Gulf States may depopulate Virginia, Maryland, and other States, and thus turn them over to the occupancy of free white settlers from the North. Hitherto, the effect of carrying slaves to the Southwest has been to make new slave States, without unmaking old ones. But, in the progress of Northern development the period has arrived when every plantation in Virginia which is vacated by the removal of the slaves to the South will be seized by greedy land hunters from the north of Mason and Dixon's line; and thus, by a process similar to the natural one of petrifaction, Virginia is becoming a free State.

The Virginians at first were disposed to repel this friendly invasion of free labor; but self-interest is stronger than prejudice, and the enhancing value of land is gradually conciliating the most influential class, the holders of land. They are beginning to understand that they may double the value of their real estate by removing their negroes to the Southwest. The negro-trader is becoming a most active and powerful instrument in the emancipation of Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware.

But from the far South a warning cry of alarm comes to us. We are told that the Gulf States are in imminent danger of being deserted by their Northern co-partners in the blessings of Slavery—a state of exclusive blessedness which our generous countrymen of the sunny South by no means covet. What is to be done? Some propose laws prohibiting the further introduction of slaves from the more northern States; but this will not be seriously listened to when the price of cotton and the demand for negroes are what they are at present. Discarding this proposition, they resort to the African slave trade. By importing slaves from Africa, they reduce the price to one-third, and at the same time prevent the older States from becoming free by the economical process of selling out to the cotton planters. This is the favorite idea of the young and enthusiastic portion of the South; and we shall not be surprised to see persistent efforts to reduce it to practice, in spite of the grave protests of cooler heads. The African slave trade cannot be successfully combated without taking a position inconsistent with Slavery itself; and, although the better portion of Southern society will oppose it, it will have the interests and the prejudices of the reckless and the enterprising in its favor.

A writer in a leading Southern journal, commenting upon the above statements in regard to the influx of slaves, says:

"The facts stated in these paragraphs are of startling significance! The great demand for slave labor in the South, and its precarious tenure in the border States, is causing them to send us their slave population in unprecedented numbers, and we are buying it at marvellous prices. What is to be the effect of this upon the border States? Free labor will necessarily take the place of slave labor; and when it preponderates, as it soon must, they will become Anti-Slavery States."

He insists on the revival of the slave trade; but if that measure is rejected, he recommends the prohibition of further slave importations from the old States; and concludes as follows:

"One or the other remedy must be adopted, or we will ultimately be driven into the extreme South, like wild animals crowding on promontories to avoid a flood. Our enemies at the North already see the inevitable result of the causes at work, and exultingly proclaim that they will drive us into 'the Mexican Gulf, or the great American Sahara.' Yet the South is quiescent. Her products command high prices, her festal halls are lit, and voices of universal gladness are lifted up, while the pillars of her strength are tottering beneath her. As the lamented Pinckney Henderson truly said, in his last hours, 'we are a most unfortunate people.'"

The introduction of 50,000 African slaves into the Gulf States annually, would have the effect of reducing the value of Virginia negroes to a nominal figure. A very small excess of the demand over the supply of any article in market, is sufficient to raise the price out of all proportion to the difference; and, on the other hand, an excess of supply over the demand will reduce the price in similar proportion. This is a well-settled principle in political economy, and will apply as well to negroes as to other property. If the slave trade could be legalized, the effect would be to produce a redundant supply of slaves, and to break down the institution in this country. For, if the effect of the foreign trade was simply to supersede the domestic trade, that of itself would be fatal to Slavery in the northern tier of States, and, as a necessary result, in the South.

So, in every point of view, the cause of Slavery wears a gloomy aspect. It contains in itself the elements of corruption and decay. It has nearly run its cycle, and nothing but new fields to waste can keep it in existence. It will be the folly of the Northern people, if it is permitted to have a new lease of life, by extension over new Territories.

For the National Era.

LINES

For the Centennial Celebration of the Birthday of Robert Burns, 25th 1st mo., 1859.

How sweetly come the holy psalms
From saints and martyrs down,
The waving of triumphal palms
Above the thorny crown!
The choral praise, the chants and prayers,
Of harps by angels strung,
The hunted Cameron's mountain airs,
The hymns that Luther sung!

Yet, jarring not the heavenly notes,
The sounds of earth are heard,
As through the open minster floats
The song of breeze and bird.
Not less the wonder of the sky
That daisies bloom below;
The brook sings on, though loud and high
The cloudy organs blow!

And if the tender ear be jarred,
That haply hears by turns
The saintly harp of Olin-y's bard,
The pastoral pipe of Burns,
No discord mars Heaven's perfect plan,
Who gave them both a tongue;
For he who sings the love of man
The love of God hath sung!

To-day be every fault forgiven
Of him in whom we joy;
We take, with thanks, the gold of heaven,
And leave the earth's alloy.
Be ours his music as of spring,
His sweetness as of flowers,
The songs the bard himself might sing
In holier ears than ours!

Sweet airs of love and home, the hum
Of fancy's laden bees
Come singing, as the robins come
To sing in door-yard trees.
And, heart to heart, two nations lean,
No rival wreaths to twine,
But, blending in eternal green
The holly and the pine!

J. G. W.

THE CINCINNATI PLATFORM.

The world has been told, by carping critics and enemies, how the resolution which seemed to endorse the policy of building a Pacific railroad was engrafted upon the pure States-rights creed of the Democracy at Cincinnati. Scandalous stories were told of the duplicity of Pennsylvania and other Northern delegates, in professing orthodox opposition to that magnificent scheme of internal improvements by the Federal Government, until the South, and particularly Virginia, was tricked into the nomination of a Northern candidate for the Presidency; but these stories were stoutly denied, "with an oath;" and the charitable world was willing to give the party the benefit of a doubt, at least, as to the truth of them. But "murder will out," and in the order of Providence truth will be vindicated; and we now have the authentic history of the resolution, upon unquestionable Democratic authority. The Richmond *Enquirer* tells the story. According to that journal of the 20th instant, the scandalous revelations which we have hitherto had convey but a faint idea of the trickery and duplicity which attended the adoption of the Pacific Railroad resolution.

In the first place, the *Enquirer* denies that the resolution countenances the idea that the Federal Government has the constitutional power to build the road, either by donations of the public lands, or by appropriations of money. The editor insists, on the contrary, that by implication the resolution denies this power. In the second place, the *Enquirer* tells the history of the passage of the resolution, in a way by no means creditable to the candor or integrity of the Northern members of the Convention, and particularly to the friends of Mr. Buchanan. According to the organ of Gov. Wise, the resolution was twice rejected, by decided majorities, *before the nomination*, the Pennsylvania delegates voting, with those of Virginia, against it. But no sooner was the nomination made, than the slippery delegates from the Keystone wheeled about, and voted for the resolution unanimously! The Virginians reproached them for their duplicity, and told them that Mr. Buchanan would never have received the vote of the delegates from the Old Dominion, if they had not been led to believe that he and his friends were against the Pacific railroad. This frightened the Pennsylvanians, who began to apprehend bolting, and with great facility they turned about, and voted with Virginia against the resolution.

The *Enquirer* goes still further, and arraigns Mr. Buchanan for violating his pledges given at Wheatland to the committee which gave him formal notice of his nomination. It charges that the letter sent to California, in September, 1856, in which Mr. Buchanan takes strong constitutional ground in favor of a railroad, was not only a violation of his pledge to adhere to the Cincinnati platform, but that he was guilty of duplicity in withholding it from the people on this side of the Continent. The *Enquirer* sums up as follows:

"*Still less can we approve the doctrine which he expounds. To our mind, it is more objectionable, more latitudinarian, more 'federal,' than any constitutional exposition to be found in all the writings of the elder Adams, or even of Alexander Hamilton.*"

TAKING OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT LOAN.—The bids for the ten million five per cent. Government loan were opened Monday, in the presence of the Treasury officials, bankers, and others. Mr. Corcoran expressed the opinion that the loan will be taken by an average premium of about 2.61 per cent. The Assistant Secretary of the Treasury puts the premium at $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. Riggs & Co. bid for the Bank of Commerce, at New York, and Duncan, Sherman, & Co., to the amount of five millions, at from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 per cent. Sweeny, Rittenhouse, & Fant, get three millions at 2.89. There was no successful bidder from Philadelphia or Baltimore.

THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION AT WASHINGTON.

At a meeting of the above Association, held on Monday evening the 24th inst., the Secretary presented an interesting report, by which we learn that about 180,000 speeches and documents were circulated by that Association during the late Congressional campaign, chiefly in Pennsylvania and the Western States. The report also shows that the receipts have enabled the Association to meet all its liabilities for printing, &c., and leaving a small balance in the Treasury when certain outstanding accounts are paid in. It also pays a high compliment to the Hon. Sidney Dean, of Connecticut, for valuable services rendered the Association.

After the reading of the report, the following among other resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Association are due, and are hereby tendered, to the Hon. Sidney Dean, of Connecticut, for his very efficient aid in franking and distributing the various documents issued by the Association during the late Congressional campaign.

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this Association, Republicans throughout the country are under a debt of gratitude to the Hon. S. Dean, for his sacrifice of time, money, and comfort, in generously remaining in this city during the recess of Congress, to aid our organization in its labors, while his fellow members were enjoying the comforts of home in a more invigorating climate.

Resolved, That we recognise in our able and worthy Secretary, L. Clephane, Esq., a true Republican, to whom no sacrifices are too great and no labors too arduous, when they shall aid in the dissemination of the principles of our great and noble party.

Resolved, That the Secretary be instructed to forward a copy of these resolutions to the Hon. Sidney Dean; and also a copy to the *National Era*, for publication.

THE REVIEW.

The Ministry of Life. By Maria Louisa Charlesworth, author of "Ministering Children," &c., &c. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1858. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Washington, D. C.

In the preface, the author of this book says, "The following pages have been written in the hope that some of those who a few years ago gave their young and touching welcome to the tale that pictured childhood's ministry will retain the same childlike spirit, making them willing to be led in still advancing paths of pleasantness and peace." We echo this wish, as respects our readers. Though not properly a sequel of the former volume, yet it is designed to carry onward to a higher stage of culture, as well as for an older period of life, the application of the principles before illustrated. It is a book, however, of more matured character, thought out with more care, and, as we think, richer in its development of intellect. The gradual and beautiful growth of Antonia's mental and moral powers, the gathering around her as the central figure of the group all the others, every one, too, exhibiting his or her own individuality, are finely conceived and executed. The sentiments have evidently been weighed, and their just value estimated. The contrasts of opinions correspond to the situation and circumstances in which they have originated, and they harmonize well with the general characteristics of the persons by whom they are uttered. There is often a simple pathos in the few lines that furnish the incident, and the author indulges much less in prolix expression of merely extraneous thoughts than in the former volume. It is a work which as a whole shows greater range of instructive talents. It may not perhaps find so many readers, or be so universally popular, for fewer children may take as deep an interest in its perusal; but those who do read it with candid appreciation of its design, and alive to their own responsibilities, may, we think, derive profit in no ordinary degree from its pages—partly from its direct influence, and still more from the trains of thought which will arise and become formed out in their own minds by the indirect process of suggestion. The author is liable to the charge of *mannerism*. Some words not usual with other writers recur on almost every page, and there seems to be a great fondness for negative adjectives, and which appear in every variety of form. Her style, however, is generally correct, and chosen merely as the vehicle of her thoughts, while her aim evidently is to reach and impress the heart, there lodging truths that may have a power to render life beneficent and a preparation for a higher state of reward.

Terence and Phædrus, Literally translated. Harper's Classical Library. New York: Harper & Brothers. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Washington D. C.

From the title of the volumes before us, we expected to see, besides the comedies of Terence, the charming fables of Phædrus; but, on opening the book, we find translations of the works of Terence alone, one literal by H. T. Riley, the other, in blank verse, by George Colman. The Harpers deserve great praise for their cheap and substantial reprint of the English Classical Library. In the present volume, so far as we can judge, the translation, although not so literal as to be awkward, confines itself to the text much more strictly than previous ones, which give anything but vigorous and correct renderings. To the student, this translation of the works of one who divides with Cicero and Cæsar the palm of pure Latinity, will prove valuable and suggestive.

Sylvan Hole's Daughter. By Holme Lee, author of "Kathie Brande," "Gilbert Massenger," "Thorney Hall," &c. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, Franklin Square. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Washington, D. C.

A pleasant story of a pretty young English girl, who, after running aground once or twice, and just escaping it once or twice more, finally reaches the open sea. There is a trim, healthy, well-bred *English* air about it, and it is well old, except at the end, where the inclined plane that lets us down into the world again seems to be rather precipitous.

The main incident of the book goes to show that, contrary to the popular sentiments of poetry, to say nothing of prose, a man may cherish a profound and passionate attachment to one woman, and, failing to secure her, repeat the operation on another. If the story is true, the case goes against the poets by default. If it is not true, everything remains *in statu quo*. But either it is true, or it is not; therefore either a man can love twice, or we don't know whether he can or not—*q. e. d.*

CUBA.—It will be seen from our Congressional Summary that the Committees of Foreign Relations in the two Houses, through Mr. Slidell in the Senate, and Mr. Branch in the House of Representatives, reported bills appropriating thirty millions of dollars, to enable the President to negotiate for the purchase of Cuba. This sum is intended merely to facilitate negotiation, by bribing Spanish officials, while the committee of the Senate estimate that the Island will cost $125,000,000. Of course, this is putting the best foot foremost. It would not do to tell the whole truth, that the Administration have no expectation of getting Cuba for less than twice that sum. Messrs. Seward and Hale, in a few remarks, set the matter in its true light. A more monstrous proposition was never presented to a free deliberative body. It is a proposition to authorize the Government to enter upon a system of bribery, fraud, and profligacy, for the manufacture of political capital and the extension of Slavery; and the end is to be a national debt of hundreds of millions.

FROM HAVANA.—*New Orleans, Jan. 22.*—The Havana papers of the 19th publish the statement that Gen. Reneau had offered Gov. Concha $15,000,000 to declare Cuba independent. Threats were being made to massacre any American conspirators who may be discovered.

It is not denied that the thirty million appropriation is to be used to corrupt Spanish officials, and we should not be surprised if some such scheme as the above is in contemplation. It is to be presumed that a Cuban Governor may be purchased on better terms than the Spanish Queen and Court.

☞ Mr. H. Marshall, of Kentucky, made a speech a few evenings since in the House of Representatives, in which he denounces the Republicans as sectional in their aims and principles. He insists that the Kansas-Nebraska bill was the legitimate extension of the principles of the Compromise of 1850; and he endorses the Dred Scott decision. By this statement of his principles, he has secured the approbation of the Washington *States*. We congratulate him. If the Republicans will adopt Mr. Marshall's views, they, too, will be declared sound by the organs of Southern opinion.

QUARRELING IN SECRET SESSION.—The New York *Herald* of Saturday contains an account of a bitter feud which occurred in secret session of the Senate the day previous, between Messrs. Douglas, Fitch, and Davis, in which Mr. Pugh was also concerned. The difficulty arose upon the question of confirming an appointment of a postmaster in Ohio, whom Mr. Pugh denounced as unworthy, and his enemy. He called upon his friends to vote with him against the confirmation; and this brought up Mr. Douglas, who denounced the President's Illinois appointments as disgraceful. Mr. Fitch resented this, and applied to Mr. Douglas such epithets as "liar," &c. So says the *Herald*, and the account has not been contradicted. Mr. Davis is also said to have denounced Mr. Douglas as a highwayman. At one time, a fight seemed to be inevitable between Messrs. Douglas and Fitch.

The difficulty has been since adjusted after a fashion, by a correspondence between Messrs. Fitch and Douglas. The latter retracts offensive language, and the former retracts retaliatory language.

FURTHER EUROPEAN NEWS.

The Europa, with Liverpool dates to the 8th inst., arrived at New York on Saturday. The Government of Austria, in consequence of the dubious language used by the French Emperor on the 1st of January, has ordered a large reenforcement of troops into the Italian Provinces. The Italians were in a state of great excitement, and symptoms of disaffection were manifested among the Hungarian regiments in the service of Austria. The cry of *vive l'Italia* had been heard among the people, and was reechoed by the Hungarians.

The Irish conspiracy turns out to be more extensive than was expected. Additional arrests had been made. The London *Times* thinks that if a protectorate is to be established over Mexico, England should have a share in it, in consequence of the large indebtedness of Mexico to British subjects.

Great agitation still prevailed on the Paris Bourse and in political circles, in respect to the Emperor's recent remark to the Austrian Minister. It is said, however, that the Emperor is disposed to mitigate the effect of his remark, and to soothe the offended pride of Austria.

It is said that Prince Napoleon has stated to Lord Cowley, the British Minister, that the French Government will abandon the African immigration scheme, if England will undertake to assist France in obtaining Coolies, from India.

The Spanish Government and people are indignant at the proposition of the President of the United States to buy Cuba, and regard it as an insult. The Prime Minister, O'Donnell, declares that the Government will be disposed to demand satisfaction for the insult.

M. Olazaga, in his own name and in that of several other eminent members representing the different political parties, then proposed this resolution:

"The Congress declares that it has received with satisfaction the declaration of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and that it is disposed to give to the Government its constant support, in order to maintain the integrity of the Spanish dominions."

The resolution was unanimously adopted and ordered to be inscribed in the archives. The *Espana*, though a violent adversary of the Cabinet, expresses warm approbation of the patriotic declaration of the Minister, and states that in a question which, like that of Cuba, affects the national honor, Spaniards, whatever their differences on other points, will always be united. The other journals employ similar language.

CLAIMS AGAINST FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS.

The following statement of the substance of a communication made to the Senate by the President, on Thursday last, shows how inadequate was the proposition of Mr. Mason, commented on in our last, to public exigencies. He proposed to confer upon the President the right of making war upon Mexico and the Central American States, in order to compel a speedy payment of American claims; when in point of fact those claims are utterly insignificant, in comparison with those which are withheld from our aggrieved fellow-citizens by the great Powers of Europe. Should not Mr. Mason amend his bill, so as to confer upon the President a general war-making power?

Thursday the President sent to the Senate, in compliance with a resolution of that body, a document showing the condition of our unsettled claims against foreign Governments, together with those which have been adjusted. By a hasty glance at the paper, it appears that Captain William Webster presents a bill against Great Britain for over $6,500,000, for loss indemnity, for lands purchased from the chief of New Zealand, and of which he was dispossessed by English officers.

Claims are also urged by other parties against that Government for damages done to lawful commerce by the seizure and sale of vessels.

Russia.—Against this Government there are two cases; one for $16,000 and the other for $385,000, preferred by J. W. Perkins, of Massachusetts, charging a violation of a contract for arms furnished during the Crimean war.

France, too, has unsettled claims. She has rejected several, including that of the owners of the ship America, for loss and damage sustained in 1839, for violating the blockade of Buenos Ayres, and property thereby destroyed.

Robert A. Parish tendered a bill for 15,000,000 francs in fulfilment of a verbal agreement entered into by Mr. Fould and the Minister of Finance, and confirmed by the Emperor, to pay him this amount upon the demonstration of the existence of gold mines similar to those of California, and accessible to the French army, as soon as the French flag can be raised in token of sovereignty in any part of the territory indicated. He alleges this performance, and hence seeks for pay.

Spain.—There is a long account against her. Two claims involve nearly $1,000,000 for an alleged violation of contracts, and a formidable list is preferred from loss of vessels by capture. John S. Thrasher, of Cuba notoriety, whose case was involved in political questions, claims $350,000, while there are eighty cases for losses and damage caused by the repeal of the Cuban ordinance of 1844, admitting provisions and lumber free of duty from the United States.

Mexico.—There is a list against her of large settled or unsettled claims.

Belgium has settled her accounts for losses of property at Antwerp by the bombardment. There were twenty-one such cases.

Holland and Denmark have not yet made satisfaction.

Prussia is asked to make an explanation for the arrest and ill-usage of a naturalized citizen, who returned to his native country, and was held liable for military duty, due before his emigration. This is one of a number of similar cases.

Austria has little to answer for.

Rome comes next. N. B. Campbell complains of being turned out of Civita Vecchia in an insulting manner, and falsely accused of forging a visa to his passport. The matter has been referred to our Minister.

Turkey.—From this Government, John Reeves claims for loss and damage sustained by an alleged non-fulfilment of a contract for building vessels of war at Constantinople. As to the Dixon outrage at Jaffa, reparation is promised.

Greece.—There is nothing against this Government. She has paid Jonas W. King for the loss and damage sustained by imprisonment and exile.

Naples and Sardinia have small accounts to settle.

China.—There is a long and heavy list against her, on account of damages and losses—for shipping principally.

The Fejee Islanders have, through a commission, arranged for spoliations and thefts, but it is not yet ascertained that the awards have been paid.

Hayti has not settled her accounts.

Guatemala now owes nothing.

Nicaragua.—There are numerous cases against this country, including claims for property destroyed at Greytown by the bombardment.

Costa Rica.—All the claims against that Government are unadjusted.

Salvador has two unsettled cases to meet.

The state of claims are next stated against New Granada, Venezuela, Ecuador, Chili, Brazil, Buenos Ayres, Uraguay, and Paraguay. The last named has the longest list. Ecuador has only one case.

THIRTY-FIFTH CONGRESS,

Second Session.

Tuesday, January 18, 1859.

SENATE.

The Vice President laid before the Senate a communication of the Secretary of the Treasury, [The Secretary sends "a bill reorganizing the collection districts of the United States, and designating the ports of entry and delivery of the same, and regulating the appointment and compensation of officers of customs," accompanied with an estimate of the amount that will be required under the provisions, exhibiting a proposed reduction of over four hundred thousand dollars. There are at present one hundred and sixteen ports of entry, which it is proposed to reduce to seventy-five, and to discontinue altogether twenty-one of the eighty-six ports of delivery.]

Pacific Railroad Bill.—On motion by Mr. Gwin, the Senate resumed the consideration of the Pacific railroad bill. The substitute of Mr. Bigler for the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth sections of the bill was adopted, after having been amended in some minor points.

Numerous amendments were moved and voted down, and, after much discussion—

Mr. Brown moved to lay the bill and amendments on the table; pending the consideration of which question, the Senate adjourned.

HOUSE.

The Revenue Bill.—The House went into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, (Mr. Smith, of Tennessee, in the chair,) and resumed the consideration of the bill for the codification of the existing revenue laws of the United States.

After considerable discussion upon the amendment offered by Mr. Burlingame, of Massachusetts, proposing to protect the shipping interests of the United States, and the navigation laws—

Mr. Keitt, of South Carolina, moved that the enacting clause of the bill be stricken out; which motion was agreed to—yeas 84, nays 53.

The Committee then rose, and reported accordingly to the House; and the question being taken, "Will the House agree to the report of the Committee, that the enacting clause be stricken out?" it was agreed to—yeas 108, nays 84.

So the bill is rejected.

The President's Message.—On motion of Mr. Phelps, of Missouri, the House again went into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, (Mr. Stevenson, of Kentucky, in the chair,) and resumed the consideration of the President's annual message—the question being on the adoption of certain resolutions referring it to the appropriate committees.

Mr. Cox, of Ohio, reviewed our foreign relations, contending that the principle that the weaker nation must be absorbed by the stronger and organized nation applied to our relations with Central America. The only contest the Government would have in pursuing such a policy would not be with the people of these Territories, but with Spain, France, and especially with England. He looked upon the Cuban question from another stand-point. The President had given ample reasons for its annexation. Its geographical position commanded an advantage to which Americans could not be indifferent. The coastwise and Mississippi trade, amounting to some two hundred and fifty millions of dollars, and which before ten years will amount to five hundred millions of dollars, equal to the whole value of real estate in Ohio, will pass within the range of Cuban cannon. There was a necessity to have this trade properly guarded and protected, but he did not believe that, in the present condition of the question, Spain would sell Cuba, for the reason that she has that old Spanish pride there. He was willing, however, to vote for the bill introduced by Mr. Branch, but he was not particular as to the amount appropriated, looking to negotiations for the purchase of Cuba, and looking then to the orderly seizure of it. He would not discuss the relations of the Government with Central American affairs, but he would remark that the great stumbling block seemed to be the Clayton-Bulwer treaty—the diplomatic blunder of the nineteenth century. The United States must grow without or fall within, for the nation that failed to embrace every opportunity for advancement would just as surely fail of its destiny. He contended that this principle should be applied to Mexico; and, in conclusion, condemned the course pursued by the

...rs of the Gulf of Mexico con-
West India seas, and, in the
g naval Power, would make he
a *mare clausum*. It contains
of square acres, of which eight
n cultivation. The imports of
eries of years were twenty-eight
he exports thirty-one millions,
al production of fifty-nine mil-
making any allowance for the
he labor of African slaves, and
so extensive and universal all
. With these included, they
annual productive value of more
ions. Some put it at one hun-
The total imports into Cuba from
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tes, a little over six millions;
ltian, six millions; and France,
he exports amounted—to Spain,
to the United States, twelve mil-
ight millions; and France, three
schedule of importations into
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Was there an interest within
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manufactories amounted to over
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but 901; England, 348; and
and out of a little over five hun-
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he island by war? Could it be
a conflict with Great Britain and
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er the territory of the island, and
of their fleets in the waters of the
bbean sea indicate no disposition
a this guarantee. With France,
erstand it. Louis Napoleon, with
ambition which marked his dis-
insman, wishes to establish a
ial empire in the West Indies. To
tablish this, it was necessary that
the United States should be crip-
led in. With his hand upon the
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and his hand would clutch the
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servience to France. He believed
y had placed her in the grasp of
she was now only moving at the
Napoleon.
e, of Pennsylvania, inquired wheth-
man thought the United States had
te Cuba because they had a Gov-
he does not approve of.
replied that he did not; but he
hat the long catalogue of aggres-
ac accumulated insults to her flag,
her rights, and insults to her
the United States the right to de-
ainst Spain, and he contended that
ould have the right to complain.
ebate being closed, the bill was re-
mendment. Considerable discus-
, and a number of amendments
ted.
oy, of Illinois, moved to strike out
ation for all the foreign Ministers;
ot agreed to—yeas 56, nays 68.
he amendments adopted were the
olfax, of Indiana: To strike out the
Persia.
rry, of Alabama: To strike out the
Buenos Ayres and Switzerland.
Garnett, of Virginia: To strike out
to Rome.
the amendment submitted by Mr.
Kentucky, to strike out all the mis-
pt those of Great Britain, France,
in, Mexico, China, and Paraguay,
tee rose.
the House again went into Com-
he Whole on the state of the Union,
nson, of Kentucky, in the chair,)
d the consideration of the President's
sage.
mittee then took a recess until 7
EESSION.—The Committee reassem-
clock.
hall, of Kentucky, replied to the re-
iessrs. Washburn of Maine, and Gid-
hio, dissenting entirely from all the
made by those gentlemen, and char-
em as representative speeches, made
pose of controlling Republican issues,
ting them to their use. He was not
s' which the gentleman from Maine
as Slavery propagandists; he was not
about the extension of Slavery. He
hesitate to compel its extension, no
he would prescribe it by enactment.
not reopen the slave trade, but should
t proposition with whatever talent and
e possessed. It was useless to dis-
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ved from it.
de, of Virginia, asked and obtained
int a speech upon the distribution of
eds of the sales of the public land,
several States.
tt, of California, addressed the Com-
ength upon the subject of a Pacific
rews proceeded to advocate a revis-
tariff, and to oppose the views of Mr.
South Carolina, in favor of free trade.
Clugg, of Illinois, then obtained the
n the Committee rose, and the House

Thursday, January 20, 1859.

SENATE.

Allamer, from the Committee on the
, to which was referred the bill to
the time and manner of holding elec-
Senators of the United States, reported
same with an amendment, striking
fter the enacting clause, and substitu-
w bill in its place.
said it was important that this bill
e taken up and acted on without delay,
ould therefore move that it be made
ial order for Tuesday next at one
which motion was agreed to.
enjamin said that when the bill re-
om the Committee on Foreign Rela-
thorizing the President to use the pub-
of the United States in cases therein
should come up for consideration, he
fer an amendment to it, in the form of
ate, which he now submitted informal-
e purpose of having it printed.
substitute provides, in effect, that when-
President shall have reason to appre-
t any of the transit routes situated
e limits of any of the Central Ameri-
es of the Republic of Mexico is in dan-
ing obstructed or closed by lawless vio-
that hostile attack may be made on the
r property of any citizen of the United
n transit on any of said routes, it shall
al for the President to make such pro-
r the use of the land and naval forces
ent the closing or obstruction of such
or in giving adequate protection to the
of the United States, provided the force
used shall be withdrawn as soon as the ob-
ect is accomplished.
The second section provides, that where any
violence or outrage is committed in the coun-
ries above named, upon the person or property
f any American citizen, by any person or per-
ons claiming to be in authority, or by insur-
gent or revolutionary force, whether such violence
upon the person be open or disguised under
the form of military, of compulsory military, or
other service, or in any other manner whatever;
and whether the violence against the property
shall be open seizure or confiscation, or dis-
guised under the form of compulsory loan or
contributions, or in any manner whatever, the
President is authorized to use the land and
naval forces in obtaining immediate adequate
redress for the wrong inflicted.
Section three makes it the duty of the Presi-
dent, whenever he may exercise any of the
powers authorized by the act, to report to Con-
gress forthwith, if in session, and if not, at the
next ensuing session.]
Invalid Pension Bill.—On motion by Mr.
Hunter, the Senate proceeded to the considera-
tion of the House bill making appropriations
for the payment of invalid and other pensions
of the United States for the year ending the
30th day of June, 1859. Several amendments
were agreed to, and the bill abolishes, after
July, 1859, the present agencies for the pay-
ment of pensions, the duties to be discharged
by officers named under the act of 1846; said
officers not to be allowed any additional com-
pensation for the duties thus imposed upon
them. In all applications for pensions, the affi-
davit of two surgeons is required, whose credi-
bility as such must be certified to by the mag-
istrate before whom the affidavit is made, stating
the continuance of the disability for which the
pension was originally granted, describing it,
and the rate of such disability at the time of
making the affidavit. As thus amended, the
bill was read a third time and passed.
The Pacific Railroad Bill.—On motion by
Mr. Gwin, the Senate resumed the considera-
tion of the Pacific railroad bill—the question
being on the motion of Mr. Pugh, to amend
the bill by striking out "San Francisco in,"
and inserting "the eastern boundary of;" so
that the road would only run to the eastern
boundary of the State of California.
Mr. Pugh withdrew his amendment, in order
that the question might be taken on the substi-
tute reported by Mr. Davis as presenting the
views of a minority of the select committee.
Mr. Davis explained the prominent features
of this amendment. It proposes to appropriate
ten millions of dollars, and grants ten sections
of land per mile, to aid in the construction of
the road over the territory lying between the
States of the Atlantic and the Pacific; leaving
the parties who contract for its construction to
locate the general route of the road, and furnish
a detailed survey and map thereof to the Presi-
dent, who shall cause the public lands to the
extent of forty miles on each side of said road
to be surveyed, and the Indian title thereto to
be extinguished as soon as practicable; and the
provisions of the act of September, 1841, grant-
ing pre-emption rights, and the acts amendat-
ory thereof, shall be extended to the lands thus
surveyed, excepting those appropriated for the
use of said road.
Mr. Doolittle desired to amend the substitute
under consideration by advertising for proposals
on three routes, instead of one, so that Congress
may determine which is the best route.
Mr. Pearce made a few remarks to show that
what is called the central route is impracticable,
from the deep snows and excessive cold of win-
ter, and advocated the plan of having two roads
on the extreme Northern and Southern routes.
He also quoted the authority of Lieut. Maury in
support of the opinion he expressed with regard
to the central route.
Mr. Brown discussed the constitutional aspect
of the question, arguing that the necessity must
be absolute to justify such appropriations from
the public Treasury. He also took occasion to
endorse the Southern views expressed by Mr.
Iverson in his recent speech on this bill.
At a late hour, without taking any question
on the pending amendment,
The Senate adjourned.

HOUSE.

The Speaker announced the select committee
to be appointed, in compliance with the resolution
introduced by Mr. Sherman, of Ohio, for the
purpose of investigating certain charges against
officers of the Navy Department, to be composed
of the following gentlemen: Messrs. Sherman
of Ohio, Bocock of Virginia, Ritchie of Penn-
sylvania, Groesbeck of Ohio, and Ready of
Tennessee.
The Speaker stated the business first in order
to be the consideration of the bill to amend the
"act granting the right of pre-emption to set-
tlers on the public lands in the United States"—
the question being on the motion of Mr. Wal-
bridge, of Michigan, that it be referred to the
Committee of the Whole on the state of the
Union.
Mr. Walbridge withdrew his motion to refer,
and proposed an amendment striking out the
sixth section, which repealed the special acts
passed heretofore, and everything referring to
pre-emption not in accordance with this bill.
Mr. Reagan, of Texas, moved to amend so as
to confine the benefits of pre-emption to those
who occupy and cultivate the soil, and deprive
those engaged in other pursuits of them.
The amendment of Mr. Walbridge and the
amendment of Mr. Reagan were severally
agreed to.
The question recurring upon the amendment
of Mr. Grow, that, from and after the passage
of this act, no public lands shall be exposed to
sale by proclamation of the President, unless
the same shall have been surveyed, and the
returns of such surveys duly filed in the Land
Office for ten years or more before such sale,
was taken, and decided in the affirmative—
ayes 82, nays 82.
Mr. Curry, of Alabama, then moved that the
bill be laid on the table; which motion was re-
jected—yeas 83, nays 95.
The question recurring upon the engross-
ment and third reading of the bill, it was taken,
and decided in the negative—yeas 91, nays 95.
So the bill was rejected.
Mr. Marshall, of Kentucky, moved to recon-
sider the vote last taken, and to lay the motion
to reconsider on the table; pending which,
Mr. Winslow, of North Carolina, moved that
the House do a call of the House; which motion
was agreed to.
The roll was accordingly called, when one
hundred and eighty-eight members answered
to their names, and all further proceedings un-
der the call were dispensed with.
President's Message.—The House went into
Committee of the Whole on the state of the
Union, and resumed the consideration of the
President's annual message, the question being
on the adoption of certain resolutions referring
it to the appropriate committees. Before ta-
king any action, however,
The Committee took a recess until 7 o'clock.
NIGHT SESSION.—Mr. Purviance, of Penn-
sylvania, remarked that, as one of the Repre-
sentatives of Pennsylvania, he had had in his
charge for some time a bill to increase the du-
ties on foreign imports, which on Monday last
he had attempted to bring to the notice of the
House, and induce its immediate consideration.
He intended testing the sense of the body on
the great question which concerned his con-
stituents, and ascertain whether there was a
party on the Democratic side of the House
ready to sustain the President in his recom-
mendation in favor of specific duties. Gentle-
men had no right to speak for any person but
themselves; and it was well the gentleman
from Maine [Mr. Washburn] had declared that
he spoke for himself. His platform might
suit Maine, but Pennsylvania must be permit-
ted to make her own platform, demanding that
protection must be one of the planks which she
never will hereafter surrender. He earnestly
advocated specific duties, as not only the true
policy of the Government, but the only policy
in which burdens, whether public or private,
can be lessened.
Mr. Thompson, of New York, defended the
principles of the Republican party, regretting
that gentlemen had been unwise enough to
commence the discussion of party platforms.
He denied the facts put forth by Mr. Washburn,
of Maine, and the inference drawn therefrom
by Mr. Marshall, of Kentucky. The Republi-
can party had a distinct line of policy, foreign
and domestic, upon which it invited the co-ope-
ration of all patriots, good men, North and
South, East and West, without expecting all
to concur in every iota of its creed. He denied
the right of any man to make a platform, and
then impose upon all new platforms. He trusted
the Republican party would embrace a brother-
hood, marching in various uniforms, with dif-
ferent yet friendly banners, to the music of the
Union and the Constitution. He then pro-
ceeded to discuss the President's message gen-
erally, in conclusion advocating a protective
tariff, and taking it for granted that the Gov-
ernment would never proceed to direct taxa-
tion.
Mr. Phelps, of Minnesota, regarded the bill
to amend the pre-emption laws, under consider-
ation this morning, as one of vital importance
to the people of that State and the entire West,
and as such should receive more of the con-
sideration of the House than he thought it
would.
Mr. Cavanaugh, of Minnesota, also advocated
the same policy with respect to the disposition
of the public domain.
Mr. Avery, of Tennessee, obtained the floor,
when the Committee rose, and the House ad-
journed.

Friday, January 21, 1859.

SENATE.

Little business of public interest was trans-
acted, the session having been mainly devoted
to the consideration of private bills, of which,
however, no more than seven were passed.
During the day, a special message was received
from the President of the United States, in
reply to a resolution recently offered by Mr.
Seward, and adopted by the Senate, calling for
any correspondence which has been had between
our Government and that of Spain, with refer-
ence to the acquisition of Cuba. The message
is as follows:

WASHINGTON, *Jan.* 21, 1859.

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit herewith a report from the Secre-
tary of State, in answer to the resolution of the
Senate of the 18th instant, requesting the Presi-
dent, if not incompatible with the public in-
terest, "to communicate to the Senate any and
all correspondence between the Government of
the United States and the Government of her
Catholic Majesty, relating to any proposition
for the purchase of the Island of Cuba, which
correspondence has not been furnished to either
House of Congress." From this it appears
that no such correspondence has taken place
which has not already been communicated to
Congress. In my late annual message I stated,
in reference to the purchase of Cuba, that the
"publicity which has been given to our former
negotiations on this subject, and the large ap-
propriations which may be required to effect
the purpose, render it expedient before making
another attempt to renew the negotiation that
I should lay the whole subject before Congress."
I still entertain the same opinion, deeming it
highly important, if not indispensable to the
success of any negotiation which I might in-
stitute for the purpose, that the measure should
receive the previous sanction of Congress.

JAMES BUCHANAN.

HOUSE.

The House of Representatives was engaged
upon the private calendar. The bill to provide
for the examination and payment of certain
claims of citizens of Georgia and Alabama, on
account of Indian depredations, occupied the
greater part of the sitting in Committee of the
Whole. The first section of the bill was stricken
out; and, in order to keep the bill from the
Speaker's table, Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, pro-
posed to recommit it; but, before any decision
was had, the House adjourned.

Saturday, January 22, 1859.

The Senate was not in session to-day.

HOUSE.

Mr. Morris, of Pennsylvania, presented res-
olutions from the Legislature of that State, in
relation to what, he affirmed, was a question of
moment to the country.
Mr. Jones, of Tennessee, did not want the
resolutions read.
Mr. Florence remarked that the Legislature
was desirous of having an opportunity to ex-
press its sentiments.
The Clerk commenced reading the resolutions,
when Mr. Garnett objected.
This excited considerable discussion, Messrs.
Florence, Morris, Stephens, and Barksdale, urg-
ing that the resolutions should be read, as a
courtesy due to a sovereign State; and Messrs.
Garnett and Curry objecting to the reading.
Finally, the objection was withdrawn.
The resolutions were then read. They in-
struct Senators and request Representatives
from Pennsylvania to vote for such a modifica-
tion of the tariff as will tend to increase the
revenue, and afford ample encouragement to
the industrial interests of the country, especially
so far as concerns coal and iron. They also
approve heartily of the President's recommend-
ation of specific duties.
The resolutions were laid on the table, and
ordered to be printed.
On motion of Mr. Kilgore, a resolution was
adopted, calling on the President for information
concerning the importation of slaves into Georgia
and other States.
Private bills were then considered, and one
for the relief of C. J. Ingersoll was passed in
Committee. The Committee then rose, and
the House adjourned.

Monday, January 24, 1859.

SENATE.

Resolutions of the Legislature of Pennsyl-
vania, instructing the Senators and requesting
the Representatives of that State to aid in pro-
curing such a modification of the present tariff
as would furnish adequate revenue for the
wants of the Government and adequate protec-
tion to American industry, were presented by
Mr. Bigler.
Mr. Cameron in a few remarks expressed his
entire concurrence in the object of the resolu-
tions, and stated his conviction that, if the
President of the United States would display
the same zeal in the cause of tariff reform as he
had manifested in behalf of the Lecompton Con-
stitution, the present Congress would not adj-
journ without enacting such remedial measures
as were asked by the people of Pennsylvania.
Mr. Slidell, from the Committee on Foreign
Relations, presented a report and accompanying
bill relative to the acquisition of the island of
Cuba. The terms of the bill are already known
to the reader.
Mr. Mason briefly remarked upon the con-
tents of the report by which the bill was recom-
mended to the Senate. While agreeing to the
presentation of the latter, he did not concur in
all the arguments of the former, and was under-
stood to express his special dissent from the as-
sumption that the extension of our borders was
the settled policy of the Confederacy.
Mr. Seward presented a bill, on behalf of Mr.
Foot and himself, embodying the views of a mi-
nority of the committee. This bill provides
that the President of the United States shall
report to the Senate, at the next regular session
of Congress, a statement of the relations between
the United States and Spain, and the progress
of any negotiations between them, as also the
condition of the army and navy of the United
States, so far as their services may be needed
to meet any complications growing out of our
relations with Spain. The bill also provides for
an extraordinary session of Congress during the
approaching recess, in case the same should be
made necessary, in the judgment of the Presi-
dent, by the state of our negotiations with the
Spanish Government.
Mr. Seward then proceeded to criticise the
terms of the majority report and bill. The prop-
ositions they contained seemed to him utterly
impracticable, if not ridiculous, in view of the
recent declarations of the Spanish Government,
denouncing as an insult the language of the
President's message in regard to the purchase
of Cuba. This bill tended to make Congress a
party to that insult, and was moreover urged
at a time when our own citizens were called to
critically scan its provisions. In view of the
low state of the Treasury, the present moment
was not the most opportune to the considera-
tion of such a measure, and for himself, before
abnegating his function as a part of the treaty-
making power, he desired to be informed re-
specting the status which the free-white, the
free-colored, and the slave population of Cuba
were expected to hold on their admission into
our Union under the terms of a treaty to be
negotiated by the Executive.
Mr. Bayard briefly sustained the majority re-
port, and Mr. Foot as briefly expressed his con-
currence in the views of Mr. Seward.
Mr. Toombs replied to the arguments of Mr.
Seward. No abnegation of Senatorial preroga-
tive was involved in the passage of the bill,
which merely risked thirty millions of dollars
upon the success of the negotiations, leaving
the Senate free to ratify or reject any treaty
that might be formed. For himself, he thought
Cuba so essential to the country, that he was
willing to run the risk for the purpose of pro-
curing the island. He desired to raise no ques-
tion in advance respecting the status of the in-
habitants of Cuba, in case it should be annexed
to the Union. We could settle such questions
among ourselves; and in negotiating with for-
eign countries, the President should not be em-
barrassed by our sectional quarrels. He wanted
the Congress of the United States to declare to
the world its policy with reference to Cuba, and
if France or England, or both combined, should
interpose objections, he was willing to meet the
consequences of asserting our independent na-
tionality. Cuba was not only politically, but
commercially, necessary to the aggrandizement
of the Republic. We now feed and clothe the
world. Give us the tropics, and we should have
all that was necessary to carry on a natural ex-
change between the products of the South and
of the North. It was the duty of the United
States to make of the waters of the Gulf of Mex-
ico and of the Caribbean Sea a *mare clausum*.
Mr. Hale pleasantly remarked on the substi-
tution of "Political Necessity" for "Manifest
Destiny," both of which characters, he regretted
to say, uniformly travelled Southward in fulfill-
ing their mission. A part of Maine and a part
of Oregon between 49° and 54° 40′ had been
given away to Great Britain. On the South,
we constantly enlarge our borders. From the
North, we lop off slice after slice. It might be
accidental, but the coincidence was none the
less remarkable. After eloquently alluding to
the loyalty of Spain, as our earliest ally, Mr.
Hale expressed his belief that we could best
promote the prosperity of the Republic by *im-
proving* our present territorial possessions.
At the close of the discussion, the Senate
proceeded to hold an Executive session.

HOUSE.

The proposition of Mr. Stephens, of Georgia,
to set apart three days in February for the con-
sideration of Territorial bills, failed—there be-
ing less than two-thirds in favor of suspending
the rules. The vote was 105 to 71.
The consular and diplomatic appropriation
bill was then considered, and an extended dis-
cussion ensued, and, without disposing of the
bill, the Committee rose.
The majority and minority reports of the
Committee on Foreign Relation, on the bill mak-
ing an appropriation to settle unadjusted dif-
ferences with Spain, were, on motion of Mr.
Branch, received and ordered to be printed.
After the reception of several Executive com-
munications, the House again went into Com-
mittee of the Whole, and then took a recess until
seven o'clock.
At the night session, the discussion was a
general one, the members engaged in it avail-
ing themselves of the usual latitude to "define
their positions" upon the several topics of the
day.
NIGHT SESSION.—The Committee of the
Whole, upon reassembling, took up the Presi-
dent's annual message.
Mr. Davis, of Massachusetts, spoke in sup-
port of the fishing bounties.
Mr. John Cochrane, of New York, addressed
the Committee upon the principles which are
claimed for the support of the homestead bill.
Mr. Avery, of Tennessee, proceeded to dis-
cuss the foreign relations of the Government,
particularly with reference to Cuba, Mexico,
and Central America. In his judgment, no
greater blow was ever struck at American pros-
perity and American advancement, than was
struck by Commodore Paulding under sanction
of the neutrality laws.
Mr. Kellogg, of Illinois, said the political
parties were preparing for the canvass of 1860.
The Administration Democracy had presented
as an issue the subjugation of Mexico, the
taking of Central America, and the acquisition
of Cuba. This proposition was entitled to
consideration for its extreme modesty. It was
true the question of the acquisition of Cuba
had ever been a popular issue, and in his judg-
ment it ever would be, when it contemplated a
just and honorable acquisition. It was not
blind destiny, but the natural inclination of the
people. But the people would not rob Mexico,
nor steal Central America. Cuba could not be
bought, and conquer it we would not, while it
was a dependency of Spain. It cannot be
purchased now; but should the time ever come
when that island is about to pass into other
hands, into the hands of other Powers, we will
reach forth our hand to pluck the ripened fruit;
and until that occurs, it is worse than useless to
talk of the acquisition of Cuba.
Mr. Atkins, of Tennessee, said that the his-
tory of American politics presented two facts.
One was, that there never was but two political
parties in the country; the other, that the Dem-
ocratic party had always been one of those,
whilst the Opposition party had always changed
its name to suit the temper of the time. He
condemned a protective tariff, remarking that
it operated injuriously upon the interests of
the South. He also opposed the reopening of
the slave trade, on account of the effect it would
have on the South.
The Committee then rose, and the House ad-
journed.

REVOLUTION IN HAYTI.

Overthrow of the Empire—The Republic Re-Established.

We gather from the Boston papers further
particulars of the revolution in Hayti. It ap-
pears that the leader of the revolutionists, Gen.
Fabre Geffrard, was formerly Governor of Jac-
mel, and for several years has been viewed
with jealousy by the Emperor Soulouque, who
has latterly retained him near his person at
Port-au-Prince. Gen. Geffrard, however, suc-
ceeded in eluding the Emperor's vigilance, and
in an open yawl-boat, with only two or three
followers, left Port-au-Prince. Touching first
at St. Marc, he found that the people there were
not quite ready for such a movement. He then
proceeded to Gonaives, where the inhabitants
received him with open arms.
The origin and progress of the revolt is stated
by the Boston *Journal* as follows:
"From Mr. H. S. Fredericks, an intelligent
and observant gentleman, who came passenger
in the North Wind, at this port, from Gonaives,
January 1, we derive particulars which are of
much interest. From his personal observation,
Mr. Fredericks gives the following account of
the commencement and progress of the move-
ment:
"It appears that, before any outbreak had
actually occurred, the people of Gonaives had
an inkling of what was to transpire, and, in ex-
cited and frightened groups, stood about the
streets, conversing about a political storm,
which in some way or other they knew was
impending. Soon all the stores and places of
business were closed, and the streets were de-
serted.
"The first actual demonstration made against
the Government was the landing of four indi-
viduals only, on the beach near Gonaives, where
they mounted horses, already prepared for them,
and rode into the town, armed to the teeth, but
without noise or tumult. This was about six
o'clock on the afternoon of December 22. These
were the leaders of the new movement, who,
after arriving at the middle of the town, galloped
at once to La Place, the residence of the Gov-
ernor, where their leader, General Fabre Gef-
frard, holding his revolver to the head of the
outer sentinel, demanded an entrance, and that
the cry of "*Vive la Republique*" should be
raised. The sentinel did not accede to the de-
mand of his assailants, but resolutely held to
his place and duty.
"Not wishing to shed blood as yet, Geffrard
and his three companions then galloped to the
jail, where they frightened the sentinel into an
admittance and a liberation of all the prison-
ers. These, to the number of about forty, had
been confined, some for political and others for
criminal offences, and on their release warmly
joined their liberators, and with shouts of *Vive
Liberté! Vive Republique! Vive Liberté!*
the whole party returned to the Goveror's resi-
dence, where the Commandant, Count Bartholo-
my, was summoned to surrender to the forces
of Liberty and the Republic.
"Bartholemy, who is a gentleman of quite ad-
vanced life, seems to have acted without much
resolution, for, after a short time for reflection,
he acceded to the demand of the revolutionists,
saying that if the people wished him no longer
for their Governor, he willingly resigned, and
that perhaps the movement was for the best.
Now the strong part of the town of Gonaives
belonged to the insurgents, and their joy was
testified to by a salvo of small artillery of which
they had come into possession. An hour after
this, what military was in the town, and all the
town's people, had joined the forces of General
Geffrard, and now in possession of the whole
force, marched to a palace belonging to the
Emperor Soulouque, where a deputation of the
entire body met in deliberation to decide upon
future action. Their action resulted in the
proclaiming of the Republic of Hayti, and the
appointment of Gen. Geffrard as its provisional
head. During the residue of the evening, the
town was alive with the enthusiasm and excite-
ment, but no violence was enacted.
"On the morning of Thursday, Dec. 23, the
Republican force, the military, and the late au-
thorities of the town, were drawn up in the
grand square in front of the chamber where the
result of the deliberations of the Provisional
Committee was promulgated. The Republic
was proclaimed and rapturously received, and
Gen. Geffrard was named the Provisional
President of the Republic. In accepting this
post, Gen. Geffrard stated that he did so un-
willingly, and only because it was needful for
immediate organization of the party. He would
hold the office until a better man could be
found, and should at present only hold the of-
fice provisionally.
"The late Governor, Count Bartholemy,
then had his submission spoken for him, his
own voice being too feeble to be heard in the
crowd, and in this new surrender he again
spoke his opinion that the movement might be
for the best good of the people. A grand church
service was then solemnized, after which the
new Constitution was presented to the principal
citizens and the late authorities, and was sign-
ed by them. The views of the new authorities
were then in part made known, and all the men
of the town capable of bearing arms were call-
ed out, armed and enrolled for immediate ac-
tion. Their first step was towards the fortified
town of St. Marc's, which they entered without
opposition, and took possession.
"Here it was said that Gen. Geffrard would
remain, and recruit his forces until strong
enough to meet the forces of the Emperor in
the field, or assail him in his Capital at Port-
au-Prince. The inhabitants all over the south
part of the island were said to be rising for the
Republic when the North Wind sailed; and
northward the spirit of insurrection was equal-
ly catching.
"This is all that is known of the progress of
the affair at present, but Captain Higgins, of the
North Wind, reports that, on the night of Jan-
uary 1, as he sailed by St. Marc's, he saw the
place in flames, and infers that the insurgents
had met with some opposition from the ad-
herents of Soulouque, and that one of the parties
had fired the town.
"The spirit of the revolt, thus inaugurated at
Gonaives, immediately spread to the adjoining
towns, and the whole country thereabouts was
soon in a state of commotion. The people of
Aux Cayes and Jacmel, two important towns,
welcomed the new order of things, and declared
for the Republic and General Geffrard. It is
stated that all the southern part of the island
are in favor of the change, and in some places
the people rose *en masse* to receive the leaders
of the revolt.
"When Captain Higgins left, no news had
been received from Port-au-Prince, the Capital,
and residence of the Emperor. The body of
his army is at that place, and it remains to be
seen whether the revolution will extend to the
Capital, and, if so, whether the soldiers will
fraternize with the revolters, and turn against
there old master."

From the Boston Traveler.

"The Governor of Gonaives at first refused
to give up his command, but the position as-
sumed by the inhabitants soon brought him to
terms. A committee of citizens was at once
formed, who issued decrees establishing the Re-
public and convening the National Legislature,
before whom General Soulouque (the Emperor)
is cited to appear."
The Revolutionary Committee issued a proc-
lamation, setting forth the grievances which had
impelled them to the desperate measure of rev-
olution.
"General Geffrard was hailed President of
the Republic by the people of the North, but
imperatively declined the station. He, however,
consented to act as Provisional President until
the will of the people is known. He is now on
his march to Port-au-Prince, which is the strong-
hold of Soulouque, but where the Republic has
many friends. The Emperor has a large stand-
ing army, but it is doubtful if it adheres to him
in opposition to the strong expression of the
popular will.
"General Geffrard is about fifty years of age,
a native of Jacmel, and of irreproachable pri-
vate character. He is said to be a man peculiar-
ly suited to the present emergency, and is high-
ly spoken of by all who are in any way acquaint-
ed with affairs upon the island.
"Several decrees had been issued by the
Revolutionary Assembly, in session at Gonaives.
One of these decrees orders the destruction of
the dungeons of the fort at Gonaives.
"Another decree revokes the decrees of ban-
ishment of those who have been convicted of
political offences.
"Another decree orders the release of all
prisoners who are detained in the prisons of the
Republic for political offences.
"Another decree increases the rations of the
soldiers of the army."

IMPORTANT FROM EUROPE.

WARLIKE NEWS.

The steamship City of Washington arrived at
New York Wednesday of last week, from Liver-
pool, which latter port she left on the 5th inst.
Her news is four days later than previous ac-
counts.
*Embroilment of France and Austria.—Paris,
Jan.* 1.—The usual levee on the occasion of the
new year was held yesterday at the Tuileries.
It is stated that, during the levee, the Empe-
ror told the Austrian Minister, M. Hubner, that
he regretted their relations (*rapport*) were so
bad, but that his personal sentiments for the
Emperor of Austria were the same as ever. A
rumor also circulates that Marshal Vaillant,
Minister of War, went up subsequently to M.
Hubner, and said to him, "I suppose I must
not give you my hand after that."
With reference to the foregoing, the corres-
pondent of the *Times* says: "The few words
addressed by the Emperor to M. Hubner were
spoken with a much more emphatic tone of
voice and animated gesture than the Emperor
ordinarily employs, and reminded some of the
listeners of a scene between the First Consul
and the English Ambassador of that day, pre-
vious to the rupture of the treaty of Amiens."
They are commented upon in various ways
in all circles where politics are the topic; and
I learn that, in the higher financial regions
where they are known, they have produced an
effect which is difficult to exaggerate. I will
not indulge in speculations as to what they por-
tend. It is well known that the Emperor keeps
the greatest guard over himself, and never al-
lows an unguarded expression to reveal his real
thoughts; but it is certain on this occasion he
betrayed a vivacity which could not pass unno-
ticed by the diplomatic corps. If the Bourse
was open to-day, I have no doubt that the effect
would be severely felt. I think it right to add
a few words of explanation on so unusual an
occurrence. For the last two or three months,
negotiations have been going on between Aus-
tria and France, on the subject of Italy. The
Emperor expresses himself very anxious that
reforms should be introduced there, and particu-
larly in the Roman States. The Austrian
Government has been urged to use its influence
with the Pope and the King of Naples for that
purpose; and the Emperor Napoleon has, I am
assured, agreed to the withdrawal of the French
troops from Rome, on condition that the Aus-
trians should evacuate the places they hold.
In the midst of all this comes the Servian
complication, and the probability of an Austrian
occupation there also. This, it appears, the
Emperor most decidedly sets his face against.
He will listen to no occupation, except a joint
one, in Servia, and under the authorization of
the Powers who signed the treaty of Paris. We
have every day new accounts of the effervec-
cence that prevails in Italy, and the sympathy
which Sardinia shows to the discontented, as
well as of what is passing in Servia. All this
has produced its effect on the Emperor's mind;
and thus, notwithstanding his habitual reserve,
he could not but show it yesterday, when the
representative of Austria stood before him.
Paris, Monday Evening, January 3.—The
words addressed by the Emperor to the Aus-
trian Ambassador, at the levee, are still the
theme of conversation in diplomatic and com-
mercial circles. There is not a representative
in Paris who has not written long dispatches to
his Court on the subject.
The Pope's Nuncio, too, went away discon-
certed at the coldness of the reception he met
with. There is nothing to surprise us in this.
His Pontifical Excellency is not believed to be
very popular among his colleagues.
There was a great agitation at the Bourse to-
day, in consequence of the reports relative to
the words addressed by the Emperor to the
Austrian Ambassador at the Tuilleries on Satur-
day, and a general fall took place.
The *Patrie*, alluding to the report on the
Bourse to the effect that dissentions are believed
to exist between France and Austria, says:
"We are authorized to state that no new cir-
cumstance justifies the rumor in question."
Paris, Tuesday Morning.—The *Constitution-
nel*, of this morning, says that it is enabled to
communicate textually the words the Emperor
addressed to M. Hubner on New Year day, and
which, when commented on in public, produced
a certain agitation. The Emperor said:
"I regret that our relations with your Gov-
ernment are not so good as they were; but I
request you to tell the Emperor that my feelings
for him have not changed."
The Revolution in Servia.—The London
Morning Star of the 4th inst. says:
"We are able to give a few more details con-
nected with the Servian revolution, details
which confirm our statement of yesterday, that
the revolution was effected by an armed popula-
tion. This armed movement must have been the
result of design and pre-arrangement, and it was
so patriotic and overpowering as to have been
irresistible. The people even broke down the
bridges and tore up the roads, so as to prevent
the march of the regular forces that might have
been employed against them.
"The most remarkable characteristic of the
revolution is that, amid so many demonstrations
of the employment of force, not a drop of blood
was shed. Everything the people wanted was
gained without fighting, and one cannot but im-
agine that such success may be an incentive
to revolutionary parties in other parts of Europe.
Belgrade just now presents a strange appear-
ance, the people moving through the streets re-
joicing in what they have effected, while the
Turkish fort, bristling with loaded cannon and
muskets, overlooks their triumph with haughty
menace, as if only awaiting the word of ordering
to fire upon the town. The Servians are not,
however, likely to attack the fort, simply for the
sake of getting hold of a fugitive Prince who re-
mains within its walls; and, as we have already
seen, the Turkish Government has no disposi-
tion to wage war against the Servians.
"The late reports of the Governor General,
that Algeria might be looked upon as finally
subdued, had really found belief—a result to
which the eminent facility with which the late
Kabyliam campaign was executed especially
contributed. The outcry, as usual, is that Mo-
rocco is at the bottom of this new movement,
which means that the annexation of Morocco,
or of part of it, to Algeria is at the bottom of
the heart of the French."
Italy.—Turin, Dec. 31.—Authentic accounts
of slight disturbances, and manifestations of
popular feeling, have also reached me from
Milan. On Sunday last, some alarm was ex-
cited by a collision between Austrian soldiers
and Milanese of the lower orders, arising from
a dispute about smoking. Nobody was hurt,
and the thing was soon over. But one day or
other, it is to be feared, such paltry scuffles may
lead to more serious consequences. It would
seem that the Austrian troops have orders to
be very forbearing and slow to wrath.
Turin, Jan. 2—Letters from Milan, received
here, confirm the previous statements that great
agitation is reigning there, and daily altera-
tions and quarrels take place between the Ital-
ians and Austrians.
State of Affairs in Lombardy.—A letter
dated Turin, December 31st, to the London
Times, says:
"I have received this morning, from a sure
source, accounts from Lombardy up to a toler-
ably recent date, on which I can rely. The
most important piece of intelligence they com-
prise is the formation of commissions, military
and civil, (the latter element, which is of the
police, predominating,) for the prompt and sum-
mary judgment, without regard to the ordinary
forms of procedure, of possible rioters, insur-
gents, and seditious persons. The fact of the
formation of these commissions does not, as I
believe, admit of a doubt, but it is kept very
secret by the Austrian Government, and I am
therefore unable to give you any more minute
details than the preceding."
Rome.—A well-authenticated letter in the
Jewish Chronicle makes it apparent not only
that the Pope is incensed against the movers
in the Mortara case, and unlikely to liberate the
Jewish child he kidnapped, but that the Papal
Government has made it the occasion of fur-
ther Romish persecution of the Jews. The let-
ter states that this is not an open movement,
but that it is an indirect commencement of a
very severe system of persecution. It instances,
as examples, the recent and unexpected search
of Jewish houses for Christian servants, and
the further fact, that a young Israelite, who had
passed his examination and taken his diploma
as a physician, was refused a license to practice,
and even permission to act in the capacity of
assistant in a druggist's shop, simply on ac-
count of his religion. Other cases of persecution
are instanced, and the tenor of the letter,
generally, is to the effect that the Jew is perse-
cuted in the Papal States, and at the Pope's in-
stance, simply because he is a Jew.
*Austria.—Conspi

WASHINGTON, D. C.

REMARKS OF HON. LYMAN TRUMBULL,

IN THE SENATE, JANUARY 7, 1859.

On the motion to recommit the bill for the construction of a Pacific railroad, with instructions to bring in a bill for the construction of a Northern and Southern road, and in reply to Hon. A. Iverson.

Mr. PRESIDENT: I am one of those favorable to the construction of a railroad to the Pacific ocean, and favorable to the granting by the Federal Government of whatever aid is necessary to accomplish the object. I shall not stop to argue the constitutionality of a measure of this character, which is a measure to provide for the common defence, to promote the general welfare, and to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity. It cannot be that a measure designed to carry out the very objects for which the Constitution was formed, is in conflict with that instrument. Nor shall I undertake to point out the importance of this great work. That has been done by others, and it would be a work of supererogation on my part now to attempt to point out the advantages in a domestic point of view to our own people, and the great advantages to accrue to this country in its foreign intercourse with the other nations of the earth, from the construction of this great work across the continent. It would facilitate intercourse with those eastern nations now for the first time about to be freely opened to the civilized world, and whose trade and wealth have excited the cupidity of European nations from the earliest times. It would be the means of transporting into the heart of the country, and across the continent, the commerce and the riches of the East, which contribute so largely to the wealth and importance of the enlightened nations of Europe.

But, as to the construction of this road, if but one road is to be built, as has been justly said, it should be a central one, a road that will accommodate most of the population and business of the country. We do not want a road where no one lives, but where the business and population of the country are; and all parties, it seems to me, from all sections of the country, should unite in favor of that great national route which will accommodate to the greatest extent our population and the business of the country. I am very well satisfied to commence the road on the Missouri river between the mouths of the Big Sioux and Kansas rivers, as provided in this bill. I think a road commencing between those termini on the east, and terminating on the Pacific at San Francisco, and built on the most direct and eligible route between those points, would be a central road, and ought to command the support of the country.

But, sir, we have no assurance from this bill that any such road is to be built; and before I can give my vote, partial as I am to the construction of a Pacific railroad, to any bill, I must know something about where that road is to run. I do not understand the bill under consideration as some of its friends do. The Senator from California, who has this bill in charge, [Mr. GWIN,] seems to suppose that the location of the road is left to the contractors. Such is not my understanding of it. The choice of the point from which the road is to start is left to the contractors between certain limits—the mouths of the Big Sioux and Kansas rivers—but they have no authority to select the route under this bill. In looking at the remarks of the Senator from California, I find that he states that the committee were careful, in preparing this measure, to confer no discretionary power on the President or any one else. Why, sir, this bill confers all power on the President. He may carry the road where he pleases, and we have had some experience as to how this power will be exercised on the part of the executive authorities; and I will call the attention of the Senate in a moment to the way in which power is exercised, for we have had some foretaste, in the past action of the Government, of what may be expected under this bill, if it should pass in its present shape.

The bill under consideration does not give to the contractors the right to select the route, but it directs a contract to be entered into between the President and such persons as may choose to bid for carrying the mail, from some point on the Missouri river, between the mouths of the Big Sioux and the Kansas rivers and the city of San Francisco, "on the most eligible route, reference being had to feasibility, shortness, and economy," and "whose proposal shall be deemed by him (the President) most advantageous to the United States for the full and complete performance of the said contract." Who is to determine which route is most eligible, and most advantageous to the United States? The President, to whom full discretion is left over the whole matter of the route by the provisions of this bill. *After* the contract is made, the party making it has authority by the terms of the bill to locate the general route of the road, but that can only mean the general route on the line selected by the President, who will doubtless refuse to make a contract unless to take the road on the route he shall deem most eligible.

Sir, we have had a little experience as to how the executive authorities use discretion of this kind. I recollect that, about two years ago, Congress passed a law authorizing the Postmaster General to contract for the conveyance of a mail "from such point on the Mississippi river as the contractors may select," (it was a little more specific than this bill,) "to San Francisco, in the State of California;" and that act provided that the Postmaster General should, before entering into the contract, "be satisfied of the ability and disposition of the parties, *bona fide* and in good faith, to perform the said contract." We all understood, when that bill was pending, and when it passed Congress, that it was to be left to the contractors to select the route by which they would take the mail across the continent to San Francisco. It would seem that, at first, the Post Office Department so understood the law; for, in the advertisement for proposals under that act, it was stated that, "besides stating the starting point on the Mississippi river, bidders will name the intermediate points proposed to be embraced in the route, and otherwise designate its course as nearly as practicable."

Under this advertisement for proposals to transport the letter mail overland to California, numerous bids were made on different routes; but what does the Postmaster General do? He rejects every bid that was made for a specific route, and adopts a route of his own. I have his official report, made at the commencement of the last session of Congress, in which he states that "the foregoing route," after stating what route he had selected, "is selected for the overland mail service to California, as combining, in my judgment, more advantages and fewer disadvantages than any other."

Now, mark what he says further: "No bid having been made for this particular route, and all the bidders whose bids were considered regular under the advertisement and the act of Congress having consented that their bids may be held and considered as extending and applying to this route," therefore, he goes on to make a contract. Here the contractors were coerced, in defiance of an express act of Congress, into changing their bids to take the mail over a route indicated by the Postmaster General, or else they could not have the contract at all. Their bids were made applicable to a route which he designated; and what was that route? A route starting from the cities of St. Louis and Memphis, converging in Arkansas, and running away down nearly into Mexico, over barren deserts, without water, in some instances, for more than seventy miles and wholly incapable of settlement, thence around on to the Pacific coast, hundreds of miles south of San Francisco, and up the coast to that city—a mail route as crooked as an ox-bow, running south six parallels of latitude, and then back again six degrees of latitude to reach the place of its destination.

To justify himself for selecting this circuitous route, the Postmaster General reported to Congress that the distance to be travelled from Fulton, in Arkansas, to San Francisco, was 2,016 miles, and was about the same by that route from the Mississippi river as by any other, whereas the actual distance travelled by the mail on the route selected has turned out to be longer by hundreds of miles than the Postmaster General reported it to Congress.

Now, if under this act of Congress, passed in 1857, authorizing the Postmaster General to contract for the carrying of a mail overland from a point on the Mississippi river, to be designated by the contractors, to San Francisco, he had authority to make a contract over such a route as he should designate—and he has made such a contract, and the Government is paying for carrying the mail over that route—I ask whether the President of the United States would have any difficulty in making a contract for carrying the mail on this railroad over any route that he should think proper, provided he made the starting point between the mouths of the rivers indicated in the bill. Therefore, with the experience we have heretofore had, unless this bill is amended, partial as I am to the project of a railroad to the Pacific, I cannot vote for it. But if it be amended so as to locate the road on a line which shall be central, or nearly central, to the population and business of the country, I shall most cheerfully give it my support; and I hope the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa, [Mr. HARLAN,] confining the road to be constructed between the parallels of thirty-seven and forty-three degrees of north latitude, may be adopted.

But, sir, I desire to call attention to the extraordinary speech of the Senator from Georgia, [Mr. IVERSON,] delivered yesterday—a speech, winding up with a proposition to recommit this bill, with its various amendments, for the purpose of having a bill reported for the construction of two railroads—a Northern and a Southern road—because he looked to a separation of the Confederacy, and was unwilling to go for one road, lest in the future division of the Republic it should fall to the North; the very last reason on God's earth which would induce me to vote for two roads. Sir, I trust the day is far distant, when our legislation will be shaped with reference to a separation of the States of this Union. Has it come to this, that the basis of our legislation is to be a division? If so, I apprehend it will not be long before we have it. But, sir, I am glad that the Senator from Georgia has spoken out so boldly. He has but avowed what I have long understood to be the sentiment of the leaders of the party in power. I believe he is a fair exponent of their views; and that distinguished Senator, occupying a prominent position in the country and in this body, possessing the confidence of the Administration and the party in power——

Mr. IVERSON. Will the Senator allow me a moment?

Mr. TRUMBULL. Certainly.

Mr. IVERSON. The Senator is greatly mistaken when he says I am in the confidence of the Administration. I did not speak the sentiments of the Administration. So far as I understand them, I do not believe the Administration maintain the sentiments which I uttered yesterday. I certainly have no official or personal connection with the Administration, or any member of it, although I must state that I approve of the conduct and the general measures of the Administration.

Mr. TRUMBULL. I did not suppose, or mean to be understood as intimating, that the elaborately-prepared and carefully-written speech of the Senator had received the approbation of the Administration in advance; but he being associated with the Administration, possessing its confidence and that of the party in power, I did regard his views as a fair exposition of the views of the leaders of the so-called Democratic party of the present day. I have understood, before they were so openly and frankly avowed here, that such were their views. I supposed that they looked, as the Senator told us, to the control of this great Government in all its departments, executive, legislative, and judicial, by the slaveholding interests of the country, or to a dissolution of the Union.

Sir, how can it be that his views are not in harmony with the views of the party, maintaining the relation he does to it? I understand by the action of the party, and I have sought to show this to the country before, that they do endorse the very doctrines which he has so frankly and plainly avowed here in the Senate, and that it amounts simply to this: "We will control the Government; we will disburse its revenue and dispense its patronage, and govern the North; and when we cannot do it, we will dissolve connection with you; we will unite with you for the purpose merely of ruling and controlling you for our benefit and aggrandizement; but when the time that we can do so ceases, the Republic ceases to exist;" and when a practical measure is pending before this body, a motion is made to recommit it, for the very purpose of establishing two roads across the continent, looking to a division of the Confederacy. The Senator said yesterday:

"When the present Republican party, or its legitimate successors in some other name, shall get possession of the Government; when it has the President, both Houses of Congress, and the Judiciary, what will stay its hand? It cannot stand still; if it does, it dies. To live and reign, it must go on."

Sir, I believe that. It cannot stand still. It is a party of progress, of power. It is going on; and I coincide with the statements uttered by that Senator yesterday, that the time will come when it will take possession of the Government. It has but to pursue the even tenor of its way, standing up for the rights of free labor and free white men against the domination of the slave power, standing by the Constitution, standing by the Union, encroaching upon the rights of no section of the country, but carrying out and maintaining the principles of the Constitution, as our fathers made it. I say, it has but to go on in that course to attain power and possession of the Government, and make our Union perpetual. Further, the Senator said:

"Step by step it will be driven onward in its mad career, until Slavery is abolished or the Union dissolved. One of these two things is as inevitable as death."

It is by statements of this kind, as to the aims and objects of the Republican party, that the public mind of the South has been misled; and although I accord to the Senator from Georgia a fair exposition of the designs of the leaders of his party, I trust he is not a fair exponent of the opinions and sentiment of the South, when I understand the position of the Republican party. Does it propose to interfere with your institution of Slavery? Where? When? When, in any of its recognised public conventions, has it ever avowed such a principle? Never. But it has placed itself on the Constitution, and on the doctrines of Jefferson, and Washington, and Monroe, and Madison, and Jackson, in regard to the Slavery question, say, sir, and of Polk, too. It proposes to let Slavery alone, wherever it exists under State authority. It proposes to prevent its expansion into countries where it does not, and where Slavery has not existed. Is that a new doctrine in this country? Why, sir, if the Senator from Georgia had occupied a seat on the floor of the Senate in 1789, when the Government was organized, and when Washington was President, and when the law passed excluding Slavery from the great Northwest, according to the creed he now avows, he must have become an advocate for disunion at once.

But, sir, the Senator made an allusion to Illinois politics, upon which I would say a word. He declared that—

"In all the late elections, conservative and sound Democracy, the only element sympathizing with the South, has not carried a single free State. I do not consider the triumph of the distinguished Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS] as a victory of sound Democracy. It was a victory of Free-Soil Democracy over Abolition Whiggery, and no more."

Now, sir, if the Senator from Georgia is laboring under any such misapprehension as that the great Republican party of Illinois, which has not been triumphed over, is an Abolition Whig party, he is very much mistaken. If he is under the impression that the party sustaining my colleague is a Free-Soil Democracy, he is very much mistaken. Need I go back to the history of this country to show that parties were disrupted in 1854—the Democratic party as much as the Whig party? In 1854 was inaugurated a measure never before in issue between parties in this country, never before a party test. Immediately preceding that period, in 1852, both the then great political parties had agreed upon the Slavery question. In their National Conventions, each party had passed resolutions pledging itself to the country to abide by the settlement of the Slavery question as made in 1850, and denouncing any man as an agitator, who, under any pretence whatever, should again raise that question, in Congress or out of Congress. But, sir, what occurred within two years afterwards? Notwithstanding this pledge to the country to abide by the compromise measure of 1850, a proposition was introduced into this very body, in 1854, opening up again the whole excitement—a proposition to unsettle, not only the policy of 1850, but the policy of 1820, under which the country had acquired peace. When that new proposition was introduced to repeal the Missouri Compromise, which excluded Slavery from what now constitutes Kansas and Nebraska, persons took their positions upon that question, irrespective of former political affiliations. Parties were then formed anew upon an element never before in issue between them.

The Senator from Georgia, if he will look into the proceedings of the House of Representatives, will find that a majority of the Democratic Representatives from the North voted against the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Then it was that parties were organized upon a question which was not before in issue between them.

One of those parties, that which opposed the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the expansion of Slavery, took the name Republican, and it is composed of persons belonging to all the previous parties—Democrats and Whigs alike. The party adhering to that measure, and pledging itself to that policy which has disturbed the peace of the country for the last four or five years, and given us more trouble than any one measure that ever passed the Congress of the United States, assumed the name Democratic—an old name applied to a new principle. Who compose its army? Is it alone those who have been Democrats? By no means.

Why, sir, I need look no further than at the distinguished members of this body, to find that the leaders and champions of this so-called Democracy were the trusted Whig leaders of old time—and Whigs now, I apprehend, for they will tell you that they have changed no principles. The transition was easy from former Whiggery to a Pro-Slavery Democracy. It required no abandonment of Whig principles. The so-called Democratic party has but one principle to-day, and what is that? The expansion of Slavery. Will they keep a Whig out of the ranks if he will endorse the Kansas-Nebraska bill? They will rather promote him to high office in the Democratic army. An Abolitionist, or a man who has been an Abolitionist, can get into it, if he will endorse the Kansas-Nebraska bill. My friend at the right [Mr. HAMLIN] says that many of the New England Abolitionists are in it now. I could not name them all, or all the distinguished ones. I believe the late Attorney General of the United States was a distinguished example of that class; and we have many distinguished examples here, of persons who were Whigs, now in full communion in the Democratic church.

The so-called Democratic party in Illinois, the "Free-Soil Democracy," as the Senator from Georgia describes it, is not made up exclusively of old Democrats. If there had not been some old Whigs and some old Know Nothings in that party, "the triumph of the distinguished Senator from Illinois," of which he spoke, would never have occurred. No, sir; there are enough Know Nothings and Whigs in the Illinois Legislature to have changed the result; and although there are many Whigs in the Republican party in Illinois, there are many Democrats in it. It is made up of both; large numbers, I am happy to say, of both, constituting a decided majority of the people of the State; and the Democratic party, so-called, not only in that State, but in all the Northern States, and the Southern States, too, is made up largely of old Whigs.

The reproach sought to be cast on the Republican party, by representing it as but an Abolition Whig party, cannot be sustained by the facts in relation to the organization of the party as it at present exists. What has become of the old Whig party of the South, which once carried many States? Is it not affiliated with and incorporated into the party with which the Senator acts? I need not go any further than his own distinguished colleague, [Mr. TOOMBS,] to show him that he does not abhor altogether affiliation with Whigs, or men who were once Whigs.

But the Senator proceeded to comment upon the doctrines of the party in Illinois, and he spoke of the Republican party as denying a right which the South is entitled to—the right to take slaves into the Territories of the United States, the common property of the Union. We do deny that the South has any such right. We deny that the Republican party makes any discrimination between the citizens of slave States and citizens of free States, as to their rights in the Territories. We deny that it advocates any doctrine leading to an inequality between the States. We would give to the citizen of Georgia the same rights in Kansas that we claim for the citizen of Illinois; but we give him none other. We deny to the citizen of Illinois the right to introduce Slavery into Kansas; we deny that right to the citizen of Georgia. They are on an equal footing. We deny to the citizen of Illinois the right to take the laws of Illinois to Kansas.

By the laws of that State, females are of full and lawful age to act for themselves at eighteen years. We deny that a female taken to Kansas by her parents has a right to avail herself of this Illinois law, and assert that she is not an adult person of lawful age at eighteen, if by the laws of Kansas the minority of females does not cease till they are twenty-one; and the fact that she would have ceased to be a minor at eighteen, had she remained in Illinois, cannot avail her in Kansas, where she becomes subject to the Territorial law upon that subject, whatever it may be. So, in regard to Slavery. We deny the right of a man who owns a slave in Georgia, by virtue of State law, (and he can hold him by virtue of none other,) to take that slave into the Kansas; and by force, when he goes there, he has no right to hold the person as a slave, unless there be a Territorial law to justify it.

We say that Slavery depends upon local law. The Constitution of the United States so treats it. The language of that instrument in regard to persons escaping from service or labor in one State into another, clearly shows this. The language is, that "persons held to service or labor in *one State, under the laws thereof*," and escaping into another, shall be delivered up, &c.; that is, under the laws of the State, not under the laws of the Constitution of the United States. You cannot reclaim a runaway negro in any State of this Union, unless he is held as a slave by virtue of a State law. This shows that the Constitution was not intended to establish Slavery.

But, sir, if the Constitution did establish Slavery, which it does not, the Constitution has no force in the Territories of the United States, unless Congress carries it there. That instrument was made between the States, to form a more perfect union between the States; and when the Constitution was established, it gave to the Government which was formed by it the right to govern the Territories; but it did not extend the Constitution of the United States over the Territories; nor does it extend there except by operation of law. When the Kansas-Nebraska bill was passed, Congress inserted a clause in it declaring that the Constitution of the United States should extend over Kansas and Nebraska; thus indicating that, in the opinion of Congress, the Constitution did not reach that Territory at all, unless it was made to do so by act of Congress.

The whole practice of the Government shows this to be the meaning of the Constitution. Why, sir, we appoint Judges in all the Territories of the United States; and for what length of time? For four years? What does the Constitution of the United States say? I have not it before me, but it specifically declares that the Judges shall be appointed during good behaviour. What right has Congress to limit the term of office of a judge in Kansas or Washington Territory to four years, under the Constitution of the United States, if that instrument extends to, and operates in, the Territories? If the appointees are Judges in the contemplation of the Constitution of the United States, then they are Judges during good behaviour, and Congress has no power to limit the tenure of their office. But Congress has done it, and it has done it upon this principle: that the Territories belong to the United States, to be governed by the Congress of the United States, irrespective of those particular requirements in that instrument which are applicable to States alone, and not to Territories.

Congress cannot, of course, do any act in regard to a Territory which the Constitution forbids, such as to pass a law prohibiting the freedom of speech therein; but it may pass any law in regard to a Territory which it is not inhibited from passing, and which is not inconsistent with the spirit of our institutions.

But the Senator proceeded further to speak of the views of what he calls the Free-Soil Democracy of Illinois; and I quite agree with him in some remarks he made in regard to the positions put forth by that party. I quite agree with him that it is a monstrous doctrine, if the principle be once established that the Constitution carries Slavery into a Territory, that you have a right by indirection to thwart and subvert that constitutional right. Satisfy me that the Constitution of my country guaranties to an individual the right to take his slave into a Territory of the United States, and I will help, so long as I sit here under an oath to support that Constitution, to support that right. God forbid, that after laying my hand upon the Holy Scriptures, and swearing to support the Constitution of my country, I should turn around and say that, although the Constitution gives a right, I will, by unfriendly legislation, or by non-legislation, thwart and deny it. It is a position wholly untenable; and when I believe the Constitution guaranties to an individual any right, I will stand by and protect him in the exercise and enjoyment of that right. I cannot find it consistent with my conscience or my honor, or consistent with my feelings as an honest man, to undertake by indirection to thwart the very instrument which I have sworn to support. But, sir, I deny any such constitutional right as the Senator from Georgia claims. Therefore, I say that slaves cannot be taken, legitimately and constitutionally, into Kansas.

The Senator from Georgia further told us that—

"The people of the Southern States, as coequals in the Union, and as joint and equal owners of the public territory, have the right to emigrate to these Territories with their slave property, and to the protection and the enjoyment of that property by law during the existence of the Territorial Government; laws passed by Congress as the trustee and common head of the joint property—head of all the States and all the people of the States in the public territory; laws recognising the equal right of every citizen to go in and possess and enjoy the common inheritance; laws, not to deprive men of property, but to regulate and secure its enjoyment; laws to put every man in the United States upon an equal footing in the exercise of a great constitutional right."

I agree that the people of the South are entitled to equal laws, and to laws that will put every citizen in the United States upon an equal footing in the exercise of a great constitutional right; but I do not assent to the application which the Senator from Georgia seeks to make of it, when he says that, under this general principle, the people of the South are entitled to a law that shall protect them in holding slaves in the Territories. I say that would not be giving them equal rights, but allowing them to impose Slavery on a Territory where the people may not want it. Why has not the free citizen of the North, who emigrates to Kansas, and prefers living in a free State, where free labor is respected, as much right to insist upon keeping Slavery out of, as a man who happens to own a slave in Georgia has to insist on taking it into, the Territory? Has not the citizen of Georgia, who owns no slaves, and who emigrates to a free Territory, as good a right to insist that Slavery shall not come there, as the citizen who owns a slave in Georgia has to take him there? The interests of free white laboring men, North and South, are affected by the existence of Slavery in their midst; and after all, Slavery is participated in but by a very small proportion of the population of the United States.

There were, according to the census of 1850, about twenty million free white people in the United States. Thirteen million and more of those people resided in the free States of the North; about six million white people resided in the slaveholding States; and of those six million white people, only about three hundred and fifty thousand, something like one in twenty, of the free white population of the South, owned negres; and yet our legislation here is to be controlled and shaped for the benefit of these three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders, or the Union is to be dissolved. Sir, have the more than five and a half million white people in the South, and more than thirteen million white people in the North, no rights to be respected? Is Slavery to be forced upon them by the action of the Federal Government, or the Union be dissolved? Do we deny just rights to the South, when we allow the man who owns slaves, and the man who owns no slaves, the same rights and the same privileges in going to our public Territories?

But the Senator from Georgia told us, that unless he could have a law that would protect these three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders in the holding of slaves in Kansas, he was prepared to dissolve the Union. This is his language:

"I am free to declare here, that if I had the control of the Southern people, I would demand this of Congress at the organization of every Territorial Government, as the terms upon which the South should remain in the Union. I would hold out 'right' in one hand, and 'separation' in the other, and leave the North to choose between them."

Who is going to do this? Three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders? Surely, the five and a half million free white people in the South are not going to hold out their hands in this way, when they do not own a negro, and say, "if you do not allow us to go with our negroes into the free Territories, we will dissolve the Union." They are not going to do it. Well, who is going to do it? Three hundred and fifty thousand out of twenty million people. Why, sir, I think if we legislate for the benefit and protection of the nineteen twentieths of the people of the South, the Senator has no right to complain that our legislation is shaped against the policy the South wants. But he is right, in some respects, in attaching this importance to the slave power of the South. It is important, and although it is but one in twenty of the white population of the South, I know it controls the legislation of the South. The large planter, with his numerous slaves around him, controls the labor of the country, and monopolizes the land of the country; and the white people of the South owning no slaves are in a measure his dependants.

The labor which would otherwise be performed by the free hands of free men is there performed by slaves; and that labor which every man should be entitled to as his right, as the capital on which he is to live, is taken out of his hands, and given to this servile race. Exercising that control over the political institutions of the South, and over all the interests of the South, this power comes here to Washington, and, I am sorry to say, exercises a control over this General Government. Not only twenty and a half million free white people of the Southern States are controlled by it, but the thirteen million people in the Northern States, where no slaves exist, are made subject to it; and we are gravely told, if this great population shall attain control of the Government; if they shall elect a President and obtain control of Congress and the various departments of the Government, then the Union is to be dissolved, and for the benefit of three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders! I suppose the Senator from Georgia will hardly contend that the five and a half million people who own no slaves in the South are benefited by Slavery.

In making this comparison, fairness would require me to say, and I wish to speak with entire candor, that although the number of slaveholders is but three hundred and fifty thousand, yet more persons are probably interested in Slavery than that, because the slaves are generally owned by the heads of families; and supposing a family to consist of five white persons, which I suppose is a fair estimate, there would be five times three hundred and fifty thousand, or some one and three-quarters millions of the white population of the South that might be directly or indirectly interested in Slavery. The only interest the others could have would be to get rid of it, and to elevate labor in that country to a standard where it would be honorable for free white men to perform it.

The Senator, in speaking further of the public sentiment of the South, remarked:

"I venture the opinion, that in my own State, so well convinced are the great mass of the people of all parties that the Anti-Slavery agitation is not to cease until the institution is destroyed, if the question was now put, whether the Southern States in a body should separate and form a Southern Confederacy, a majority would vote for the proposition."

Well, sir, I can only regret that such is the public sentiment of Georgia, but I hope and trust the Senator is mistaken; and if such a public sentiment does exist there, I apprehend it exists upon a false basis. It has been brought about by a misunderstanding of the public sentiment of the North, and will be corrected the moment the Republican party is in power, and has an opportunity practically to illustrate its principles. Sir, it is by the misrepresentation of its views that this prejudice has been engendered against it in the Southern States. The election of a President of the Republican party to dissolve this Union! Why, sir, what is the Union worth, what sort of a Union is it that we have, if, when a majority of the people of this country, in a constitutional form, elect one of their number President of the United States, that is to break up the Government? Does the South remain in this Union only to control it? Has she no principle, further than the principle of obtaining the spoils of office and the power and the patronage of the Government? Is she attached to it by no other ties than these? Has she no love for this Union, under which the people in all parts of the country have prospered to such an unexampled degree since its formation? Does she take no pride in this country, in its advancement, in its greatness, in its power, and only remain a part of it merely to enjoy the spoils of office? Sir, it will be time enough for the South to talk about dissolving the Union, and forming a Southern Confederacy, when the North, or the Republican party of the North, makes any aggressions upon its rights; and if it waits for that day, it will wait eternally. No such aggression is meant—none is intended. The people of the North, unlike the citizens of Georgia, are a Union-loving people; they will stand by the Union, and stand by the Constitution; and all they ask is, that they be not perverted and undermined by a party which is only willing to support them so long as it can control.

Such a party has no existence in the North. We are submitting now to an administration of this Government which we believe to be very unjust and very wrong. We have submitted to many acts which we believed to be unconstitutional, acts of usurpation, on the part of the Executive officers of the Federal Government. We have seen the partial manner in which the laws of the United States are executed. We have noticed, within a few days, the fact that a cargo of negroes, kidnapped in Africa, has been brought to the Senator's own State, and landed there, to be subjected to Slavery, in defiance of an act of Congress pronouncing it piracy; and we have seen the official organ of the Administration, here in this city, proclaiming, in an editorial article, that our institutions are a failure, so far as their ability to resist this violation of law and of the rights of humanity is concerned. These Africans have been smuggled away from their native land, and introduced into the heart of this country; and yet, so far as we know, no man engaged in this piratical act has been brought to justice. In South Carolina, the juries refuse to indict men engaged in the slave trade. What does the Federal Government do? Where were the army and navy of the United States, that the men engaged in importing Africans into Georgia could not be found and arrested? Perhaps the army is in Kansas, guarding purchasers men indicted under a pretended charge of treason. Possibly it is on its way to Boston, to form in the streets of that city, to catch a runaway negro. Not many years ago, when a single negro escaped from bondage in order to regain his liberty, and was at large, the army and navy of the United States were called forth, the troops were brought out, the telegraph was called into requisition, and the whole power of the Government was employed to arrest and return the negro to bondage. Now, three hundred free persons, sought to be forced into bondage in defiance of the laws of the land, receive no protection from the Federal Government; but its institutions are pronounced a failure, so far as regards its ability to prevent such violations of the law.

We have seen this; the country has seen it; and although the laws in the one case for the benefit of Slavery are executed with the utmost rigor, we see no corresponding efforts to enforce the laws in favor of Freedom. Yet the people of the North are attached to the Union. Temporarily they submit to these acts, and they submit to the outrageous promulgation of opinions by judges in what is known as the Dred Scott case, upon a question not before them, because in due time they expect, in a constitutional mode, to reform and correct these abuses. When the Republican party attains power, it will not, as the Senator from Georgia supposes, make any encroachments on the rights of the South; but it will, I trust, be equally ready to enforce the laws both North and South, and to call the army and navy into requisition alike in all parts of the Republic, whenever needed for the enforcement of law, and it can be legally and constitutionally done.

BOLD AND MANLY LANGUAGE IN THE SOUTH.

The doctrine of the divine right of Slavery, which a few superserviceable friends of the institution in New England volunteered to preach and teach a few years ago, has disgusted the more manly minds of the South, and the attempt to revive the slave trade has afforded the opportunity of repelling the heathenish and inhuman imposture. What will the Reverend Mr. Nehemiah Adams think of sentiments like the following, which come to us from the far South? And what must the Southern churches, which in the spirit of mercenary time-serving have adopted the basest of New England coinages, think of the predicament in which they stand before the eyes of Christendom, when their teachings are thus scouted for their immorality by the political press?

It will be seen that the article below from the Georgia paper, which we find copied with approbation in a leading Alabama paper, scouts the idea of justifying Slavery and the slave trade by the Bible, and at the same time takes the Higher Law ground of reason and religion. What next?

THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.—We confess that we have been somewhat disappointed by the rapidly-growing popularity of the idea of reopening the African slave trade. *In view, however, of the doctrines which the Church has been teaching for several years back, perhaps it were more reasonable that we should be surprised that its popularity is no greater.* In its zeal to justify us in holding the slaves that we have, the church has—by implication, at least—inculcated the doctrine, that if it is not our positive duty as Christians to bring Africans to this country as slaves, *it is at least a right which God has given us, and which we can exercise greatly to our mutual interest.* The African can labor for us, and, in return, we can make a Christian of him; and if he happens to be so obtuse as to be beyond the reach of our labor of love, why, we can just requite him by beginning earlier, and civilizing and christianizing his posterity, if he should have any.

Some time ago, we told our readers that we seemed to be approaching the point when the religion of this country was to consist of two great dogmas—the one at the North, which allowed no man to be a Christian who owned a slave; *and the other at the South, which would give him no chance for heaven unless he had shown his faith and obedience by aiding to carry out God's decrees in the importation of a negro from Africa.* We had then no idea that we were so near that point.

We never had any sympathy with, or confidence in, that religion which finds our justification in holding our slaves, in the curse which Noah pronounced upon Ham, nor its legitimate offspring, *that philanthropy which makes avarice and cupidity, and all the lowest passions and most depraved feelings of our nature, the missionaries to bring wild Africans to this country*, that their descendants may be christianized. As a missionary effort, however, it has one great merit, in these days, when the church seems to need so much money. It can command any amount that may be needed for that purpose.

We do not know that anything we can say will have any effect to stay the tide which seems to be setting so strongly in favor of *this great iniquity*; but because we do not know what effect it may have, we shall say it. If we knew it would have none, it would be the same thing to us. We should still say it.

We have no desire for the Union, we have no respect for the General Government, and we have no particular regard for human enactments, merely because they bear the name of laws. *We scout the idea that men are morally bound to obey bad laws until they are repealed. If this were a correct principle, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, had not been cast into the burning fiery furnace, nor would Daniel have been cast into the Lion's den, nor would any of the Christian martyrs have suffered; they would have escaped by obedience to the laws.*

It is not therefore from any of these considerations that we are opposed to the reopening of the slave trade; *but it is because it is opposed to all our instincts, to all our feelings, to all our convictions as a man and a Christian.* Considered in itself, it is at war with all our ideas of humanity and right feeling; considered with reference to our section, it is opposed to all our notions of interest or of policy.

Those who advocate the reopening of the slave trade do it, so far as we are able to see, upon the following grounds:

1. That unless we insist upon the morality of it, we cannot defend ourselves from the charge of immorality, in holding the slaves that we have, and especially that we cannot defend the trade between one State and another.

2. That we need and are entitled to cheap labor, to develop our section of the country, to extend our civilization, and to strengthen ourselves against the North, and to strengthen the institution of Slavery as it now exists amongst us. All of these things we consider unsound and untenable, and we shall attempt so to show them.

Then, as to our defence for holding the slaves that we have. So far as others are concerned, the only defence we have to make to them, in a moral or social or political point of view, is, that it is none of their business. The great moral question is between ourselves and God. And to Him our justification is, that we find ourselves occupying a relation to them which we can by no possibility change to their advantage. More than that: a relation which we cannot change without great injury to ourselves, and certain destruction to them. It is, therefore, not only a right for ourselves, but a duty to them, that we shall preserve and maintain, protect and defend, this relationship. Whoever believes this as we do, has disposed of the morality of the thing to his full satisfaction, without either falling back upon Noah's curse upon Ham, and without making it necessary to become a missionary to hunt up wild Africans to bring them here to christianize them.

But it is said that we cannot justify the internal slave trade, while we brand the foreign as immoral. In other words, that if it is wrong to bring slaves from Africa to the United States, it is wrong to bring them from Virginia to Georgia. If there is any analogy between the two cases, it is too slight to give any strength to the argument. Yet, slight as is the analogy, we fear that a great many good men have been thoughtlessly misled by it, especially since the Church has prepared the way by proving that God intended the Africans for our slaves; and thence the conclusion is very easy and natural, that we are very greatly out of our duty, and are guilty of great sin, in permitting so many of them to be suffering from ignorance and barbarism and sunshane, when we might have them here, teaching them the great English language, make them wear clothes, and convert them into good Christains and good field hands.—*Corner Stone (Columbus, Ga.)*

The Paris correspondent of the Boston *Traveller* writes from Paris, Dec. 28, of the death of several eminent Frenchmen:

"I regret to record the untimely death of one of the most promising young literary men of France. I mean M. Rigault. He, M. Provost-Paradol, M. Taine, and M. Edmond About, were the most promising men of letters now rising to succeed the present generation. He was working in his study last Tuesday, in perfect health, when all at once he found his memory gone. Physicians were summoned. They recommended a little rest and country air. He went to Evreux; became rapidly worse, and sank Tuesday. He retained his consciousness to the last, and died with all the resignation and all the hopes of the Christian. He was only 38 years old. You may remember a similar melancholy case in Boston, some years ago, Mr. Gallison, who fell a victim to his ambition and over-prolonged study. He was Mr. Charles Sumner's predecessor as reporter of the decisions delivered in the United States District Court. The medical profession have lost M. Berard, a Professor in the Medical School here. He was a physiologist of great scientific attainments, although he never shone as a discoverer. Prince Jerome is said to be gradually sinking into the grave. Dr. Rayer and two other physicians visit him daily."

From the New York Times.

THE WAR PROSPECT ABROAD.

The general uneasiness of feeling abroad, with regard to the condition of political affairs, and the consequent prospects of the commercial world, is visibly increasing; and this in England as well as upon the Continent.

The agitation of the question of Reform in the English press, and on what we should call the "platform," although it is prosecuted with considerable vigor, and (thanks to Mr. Buchanan's twaddling jeremiads) very largely at the expense of these United States, does not divert the attention of the English public from the coming storm on the continent, which may break upon Europe at any moment, and, when it breaks, will convulse the whole system of trade and finance far more thoroughly than did the war with Russia. It is well understood in London that the French Ambassador, the Duc de Malakoff, is urgently pressing the Government of Lord Derby to take up a firm position by the side of France, in demanding from Austria a complete reversal of her Italian policy. During the whole of the past year, Austrian agents in Italy have been exerting themselves energetically to effect an extension of the influence conceded to Austria by the treaties of 1815 in the affairs of the Peninsula, and confirmed to her in a positive matter-of-fact way by the conventions concluded in 1847 between Austria and the small Italian Duchies of Modena and Parma. Under the premiership of Prince Metternich, Austria, in the latter year, secured the right to occupy the military positions of these Duchies *should her political situation make such an occupation necessary.* The events of 1848, we need hardly say, did make such an occupation necessary; and the mistress of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom is now virtually sovereign along the whole northern frontier of middle Italy. She has never withdrawn from Ancona, in the States of the Church, the troops which she sent there during the time of the Roman Republic; and the present object of her diplomacy is to conclude, with Tuscany, Rome, and Naples, conventions analogous to those which she has made with Modena and Parma. Should she be successful in so doing, she would hold Italy, from the Alps to the Gulf of Sicily, in a network of steel. But France is quite determined that she shall achieve nothing of the sort; and while the *Moniteur* coldly but courteously disclaims any actual rupture with the Imperial Cabinet at Vienna, no one attempts to deny the efforts which the French Emperor is making to bring the new Austrian policy to the test of the arrangements of 1815, and to compel the Austrians to recede not only from their attempts at further domination, but from their occupation of Parma and Modena. In these efforts, Napoleon III holds the vantage-ground of principles recognised by all the Powers which were parties to the arrangements of 1815; and one at least of these Powers—the Russian Empire—is fully prepared to support him in insisting upon the practical humiliation of Austria, at whatever risk of her authority over her provinces beyond the Alps. Thus supported by Russia, Napoleon III has put England into a very trying and perplexing position; and has virtually tied her hands from any action, excepting in favor of his own policy.

Austria meanwhile gives evident signs that she understands her peril. She has summoned out the full conscription of Lombardy, sparing not even the widow's only son, nor the elder brother of orphan families, humanely exempted from the ordinary conscription of peace. The force thus collected is marched as fast as organized into the Sclavonic and German provinces, draining Lombardy thus of the flower of her youth, and paralyzing, as far as the Government has power so to do, her capacity of revolt. Nor are the Austrian diplomats idle in Central Europe, where they are straining every nerve to bring the influence of Prussia and Germany to bear in favor of the House of Hapsburg, and in this connection an event which has just excited much comment in Venice deserves mention. The Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, the most influential journal in Germany, established in 1798, by Cotta, at Tubingen, but since removed to Augsburg, in Bavaria, is about to be transferred to Frankfort-on-the-Main. The *Allgemeine Zeitung* has acquired